

# The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 4, 1873.

## The Week.

THE campaign in Massachusetts is going on with great vigor, the result of the first primary meetings proving, as was anticipated, favorable to Butler. He is stumping the State making speeches, which attract large crowds, though whether the crowd is brought together by curiosity or enthusiasm, is often an open question. His speeches contain exhaustive analyses of the motives of the opposition, which it is evident are of the lowest description. For instance, he accused "Warrington," of the Springfield *Republican*, of receiving pay for his history of "the salary-grab," but this "Warrington" denies, and adds that the General got his advanced copy of the document by means of theft. In the same way, the editor of the Boston *Herald* has been forced to explain that "we never told a friend of General Butler that we abused him because the people liked it, and we sold more papers by doing so"—a statement which it is safe to say only the perverse ingenuity of the Claimant (as he now seems to be generally called) could have put into the mouth of any intelligent editor when engaged in conversation with a political opponent. Butler's defence of himself covers his repudiation "record," but this point is not dwelt upon by his opponents with anything like the stress they lay on his part in the salary-grab. In fact, some of them, and "Warrington" in particular, have their mouths shut on the subject of repudiation. Yet Butler's advocacy of it was a piece of rascality beside which back-pay seems trivial and venial.

There is little doubt that Butler is getting a good deal of help from the Democrats as well as from the employees of the Administration; and as the fight goes on, he gets more and more violent. At North Adams he is reported to have said in his speech, "Call off your dogs, or they will be hurt." Such remarks as these seem to emphasize the fact that the time has come, if it is ever to come, for a break-up of the Republican party in Massachusetts. If Judge Hoar and his friends suppose that patience and long-suffering are going to do them any good, they are greatly mistaken. This canvass for the governorship in Massachusetts has made several things clear: first, that Butler has, through his intrigues with the Administration and his skilful manipulation of the party machinery, made gains in the last two years; second, that if he is defeated in the Republican nomination by a close vote, and the party keeps together, he will be in no worse position than he is now; third, that if he carries the convention, his opponents may as well consider themselves read out of the party at once, for they will get no mercy. It is time for those who have the real interest of Massachusetts at heart to make one effort to rouse the people from the dreadful lethargy in which they have sunk. Governor Washburn has just made an appointment which shows him to be above low considerations of expediency. The chief-justiceship, made vacant by the death of Chief-Justice Chapman, was an office marked by the politicians for their own, as it was supposed that both Washburn and Butler would make use of the vacancy in the usual manner, making vague promises about it for the sake of catching votes and keeping the matter open till after election. Governor Washburn has, however, just appointed Mr. Horace Gray, of the same court, for the place—a learned lawyer and fit man.

A letter of some importance from Mr. J. Wilkinson, General Deputy of the National Grange of the Patrons of Husbandry, has been published. We say important, because Mr. Wilkinson's opinions, considering the influential position he holds, may prob-

ably be taken as authoritative. Mr. Wilkinson makes it very clear, if any light were needed upon the subject, that he and several hundred thousand of his fellow-citizens mean to exercise the sacred rights of petition and perambulation this winter very actively. He says that the Constitution contains a clause giving Congress power to regulate commerce among the several States, and that although it is true that the clause is a dead letter so far as railroads are concerned, "we do not intend it shall remain so much longer." "The people," he continues, "are all demanding action, and in a year or two their voice will be heard in thunder-tones at the doors of the National Capitol, and if the Republican party can afford them no relief, the people will find a party that can." Mr. Wilkinson speaks in very disparaging terms not only of the Republican party, but of the Senatorial Transportation Committee, the members of which, he says, are, it is whispered, dabblers in railroad stocks, and also in the employ of railroads as counsel.

It seems from the address published by the Wisconsin grangers that the Patrons of Husbandry is an order which is strictly and absolutely non-political in its character. The order was started in 1867, with the object of elevating the farmers as a class and farming as an occupation. The organization provides for the admission of both sexes to membership, and "it was designed as a medium for more social intercourse, to provide a refuge from overwork, to relieve the occupation from the feature of constant and non-intermitting toil, thus creating within the sphere of the active farming life much-needed sources of rational recreative enjoyment." Furthermore,

"It was designed with a view to general educational and instructive purposes, by establishing within the grange reading-rooms and libraries, and for the delivery of popular lectures. It was designed as a medium for frequent consultations and discussions upon matters pertaining to the occupation its members were engaged in, and upon all business relations connected with it, thus affording opportunities for the same united action commercially constantly practised by other occupations, and which had not heretofore been taken advantage of by the craft, at the same time correcting the abuses of an exclusive territorial agency system, which had grown into proportions felt to be oppressive."

To secure these excellent objects, it was provided by Article 12 of the constitution, that religious and political questions would "not be tolerated as subjects of discussion in the work of the order," and that no political or religious tests for membership should be applied.

Every member of a grange, however, is capable of acting in two capacities—either as a Patron of Husbandry or simply as a man or woman. As a Patron of Husbandry, it is his duty to avoid politics; but as a man, it is equally his duty to attend primary meetings, vote at elections, and in every other respect act as becomes an American citizen. The Wisconsin address points out this distinction, saying that to all movements for the correction of crying political evils the Patrons of Husbandry extend their warmest sympathy, "nay, more, their active participation individually as citizens, as members of those farmers' associations, conventions, unions, any or all organizations which are politically reformatory, but not as members of a grange." The resolutions adopted by the meeting which issued the address were:

*First.*—That the farmers are in favor of the improvement of the Fox and Wisconsin Rivers, and Mississippi River, and other water-courses that will tend to cheapen transportation.

*Second.*—That Congress be petitioned at its next session for "better and cheaper means of transportation from the West to the Atlantic and Southern seaboard."

*Third.*—That the farmers will support no man for office who has ever been guilty of receiving retrospective increase of salary for public service, or received an advance in salary by the Act of March 3, 1873.

*Fourth.*—That railroads are public highways, and as such must be controlled "by the State and National legislatures."

The distinction between grange and extra-grange action seems also to have been taken by many of the speakers at the meeting, the speakers urging the formation of political clubs, which are to have

no connection with the granges, except that members of the granges may be members of the clubs, though members of the clubs need not necessarily be members of the granges. In what capacity the grangers acted in adopting these resolutions, we do not know, but apparently as individuals.

The sentence of death passed upon the Modoc Indians, tried for the murder of General Canby, and its approval by the President, seem to excite very little notice. The result was expected—indeed, it was hard to see how any other result could be reached—though Captain Jack, when called on for his defence, made a speech which, if he had been tried by an ordinary jury in a State court, would perhaps have got him an acquittal. Few people could guess at once the line of defence set up by him, which was nothing less than that of previous good character. He said that no one but the Klamath Indians ever doubted his virtue, and their motives in giving evidence against him might easily be inferred. Unfortunately, there is no court of appeal to take exceptions to when men are tried before a military commission, and Captain Jack will have to be hanged for his crimes, though he says that he has papers in his possession which will prove the truth of his defence.

The *Milwaukee Journal of Commerce*, speaking of and "heartily endorsing" the recent criticism of the "National University Scheme" which appeared in the columns of the *Nation*, quotes the expression, "Most people take very little interest in schemes for national establishments of this class," and says:

"We are afraid the people of this country do not interest themselves sufficiently in such schemes. If they did, we should be troubled less often with them. However, we suppose all are acquainted with the wonderful success of Howard University—an institution really intended to be an introduction to the full-grown affair—the prospective national university; and if it were generally known that the moving power behind the throne—or rather before those university establishment bills—is not Dr. Hoyt or Senator Sawyer ostensibly, or Senator Howe 'apologetically,' but is to be found within the official pale of the aforesaid university, the 'scheme' would have even less weight with the thinking public than it now has."

What this means we do not know; but if there is any connection between Howard University and the bills in question, it ought to be made public, as there is every reason to believe that this winter will see some interesting and curious educational movements in Congress looking towards securing everybody a "plain, practical education," free of expense.

The *Herald* has achieved one of its old-time triumphs in striking the key-note of political discussion for a couple of months. We should be disposed to attribute this to the summer season, or the "silly season," as it is the fashion to call it on the other side, except for the apparent seriousness with which "Caesarism," in reference to this country and to Gen. Grant's fancied ambition, has been discussed in all its length and breadth by the press. What the intelligent American abroad may make of it we do not know, but that foreign observers will gain from it a fresh misconception of our national character, we may be very sure. When the editor of a Washington newspaper, being "interviewed" by a *Herald* reporter, says "it is to be hoped there is not, but it is to be feared there is" danger that Caesarism may become a welcome resource in the United States; and when another editor revives the evidence of a strong monarchical feeling, not to say party, in the early days of the Republic; and when all the rest of the talk on the subject is of the serious and prophetic kind, your Englishman, Frenchman, or German is excusable for thinking that he is witnessing the commencement of a political reaction of the first magnitude. American humor was surely never so well displayed, or else so well suppressed, as in this discussion based on the supposition that Grant is intent on a third term of office. There are, no doubt, surprises for every one who undertakes to generalize about the American people's thoughts, and beliefs, and probable action; but on the subject of the form of government which they have at heart, and mean to abide by, there

is no room for difference of opinion. Thirteen years ago, it might have been, and was, doubtful whether the love for the Union was anything more than a mere sentiment, kept alive by Fourth-of-July oratory, and incapable of sacrifices. But nobody would have doubted, even at that time, that an attack on the Republic—not covert, as the rebellion was, but open—would have produced an uprising adequate to the occasion. In fact, as Mr. Lincoln said at Gettysburg, the civil war settled the question whether the government of the United States should be of the people, by the people, and for the people.

It is a comfort to find the editor of the *Capital*, in the column adjoining that in which he confesses his fears about Caesarism, devoting considerable space to the Hon. James G. Blaine. Mr. Blaine is declared to be "probably the shrewdest politician in the United States," and from the account of him it is clear that the "man on horseback" will have to get up early if he wants to become Caesar before the late Speaker of the House gets the office. Mr. Blaine is "strong and fiercely ambitious," is "in the zenith of his physical and intellectual vigor and capacity," and is "a well-armed and thoroughly active competitor." All this makes it extremely unlikely that any one Caesar will be allowed to monopolize the field, or that any *coup d'état* can befall us for which Mr. Blaine is unprepared with a counter *coup*. Just now, indeed, his reflections are somewhat melancholy. He wants a place in the Senate as a stepping-stone to the Presidency, but it is not at all certain that a foreign mission or a seat on the bench would tempt the Hon. Lot M. Morrill to make way for him. If he must stay in the House, he could never consent to abandon the Speakership and be lost in the common herd of members. Yet to regain a post of so much personal and national influence requires a coalition with Congressmen whose reputations have been fatally damaged by the exposures of the past session; and then good-bye to the hope of being the people's choice for President. So the *Capital* leaves him pondering on the chances of success or of the "threefold misery" of defeat, but in any case a man on whom Caesar must keep an eye.

The exposure of the condition of the affairs of the Brooklyn Trust Company has been followed by an exposure of the affairs of Mr. M. T. Rodman, Secretary of that Company and Deputy City Treasurer. He is now under arrest on a charge of embezzling some \$148,000 of the city's money, which he managed to do by very simple means—taking sums of money from the City Treasury for deposit with the Trust Company, abstracting a part on the way, and then making false entries in the books. The fact of the deficiency was brought out by the investigation of a professional accountant, who it is said is now going to undertake the examination of all the city accounts. The accounts already published and circumstances connected with the appointment of the receiver of the Brooklyn Trust Company, seem to show conclusively that the proceedings of Rodman were connived at, though by whom it will be more difficult to establish. The intimate relations between the City Government and the Trust Company are due to the fact that the principal officers in the latter are in one way or another connected with the former. At the same time, what deficiency has been actually discovered has been made good by the treasurer himself, Mr. Sprague, who was liable for Rodman's acts. At present these facts are all that are absolutely known. All the evidence yet collected seems to show that frauds in Brooklyn are conducted in a mean and timid way, not at all befitting a city of its size and population.

The Canadian scandal has taken a new turn. The enquiry into the alleged bribery and corruption, instead of being left, as the Opposition desired, with the original parliamentary committee, was transferred, some little time since, to a Royal Commission composed of three judges, Parliament meantime being prorogued. This was regarded by those who were moving in the matter as tantamount to quashing the investigation, the expression of opinion in the local press ap-



parently indicating no very profound public respect for the impartiality of the Canadian judiciary. Towards the end of last month, Judge Day, as the senior judge of the three, sent a note to Mr. Lucius Seth Huntington, the mover of the enquiry in Parliament, asking him to appear before the Commission and give his evidence. In reply, Mr. Huntington wrote a long letter, refusing to appear, on the ground that the appointment of the Commission was in reality an unconstitutional attempt to take away from the House of Commons part of its prerogative. The investigation before a parliamentary committee, he says, he is perfectly ready to go on with. To this the supporters of the Government reply that his objection is "unreasonably factious," he knowing very well that a parliamentary committee has no power to examine under oath—a power very necessary in such an investigation. "It is their game to fight the battle out upon McMullenisms, given without the sanctity of an oath." The Commission probably have power, however, to bring Mr. Huntington before them by attachment; so that this reliance on McMullenisms ought to prove a delusion and a snare. The enquiry has now got into a shape quite different from any the *Crédit Mobilier* investigation ever assumed; but it looks badly for the Government that the only statements that have been published on their side of the quarrel have been unsatisfactory to the public.

Five hundred English Catholics, under the leadership of the Duke of Norfolk, have undertaken a pilgrimage to Paray-le-Monial, to testify to their faith at the shrine of Marie Alacoque. It is suggested that this shrine was selected because the miracle in honor of which it was erected is among the most doubtful on record, and the act of faith in making a pilgrimage to it is all the more consoling and edifying on account of its incredibility. These modern pilgrimages, however, undertaken by rail and steam to places a few days off, at a small expense and little danger to life, limb, or health, cannot really be very edifying or consoling either. It was the fashion in former days for devout men to make long journeys with unboiled peas in their shoes and a rope round their middle. This mode of testifying their faith in modern times may be an anachronism, but if any true Catholic really wished to perform an act of devotion which should be convincing, a great many modern equivalents for the old pilgrimage might be devised. The modern equivalent, for instance, for begging your way, supposing the pilgrimage to take place in America along the high-roads, would probably be an attempt to ride in a Pullman palace-car without previously buying your ticket, relying on the charity of the Company to get you through. No pilgrim has ever tried this, but if it succeeded, it may safely be predicted that the rush of American converts into the bosom of Mother Church would be unprecedented in the history of religious revivals. It seems hardly credible, but it is nevertheless true, that this pilgrimage is arranged by a "pilgrimage committee," which has issued a prospectus, from which it appears that the pilgrims are to travel first-class, and that "board and lodging will be provided for them at an economic rate." It is estimated that if pilgrims go in large numbers, what we might call a pilgrimage return-ticket will not cost more than £5 a head, the railway offering "a reduction on taking a quantity."

In the ordinary course of things, the French Assembly will not come together again before the 5th of November, but it may be convened at an earlier date. Whether it will or not depends chiefly now on the result of the investigation set on foot privately by the leaders of the monarchical parties, to discover whether a majority of the Assembly is in favor of the re-establishment of a monarchy. The Comte de Paris and the Comte de Chambord having visited each other, and the long-delayed fusion having at last been effected on the basis of the supremacy of the Legitimists and the installation of the Comte de Chambord as Henri V., it only remains to be seen whether the Assembly will ratify the arrangement. The Government evidently feels very strong in the position which it has taken, as is shown by a recent incident at a meeting of the Permanent Committee of the Assembly. The Duc de Broglie had been

reported as having said at Lyons, at a prefectural banquet, that a "duel to the death had been going on since the 24th of May, and that either radicalism or society must succumb in the struggle." For this he was called to question, but replied that the Government would answer for its public acts, but not for statements or rumors relating to private conversations. The Ultramontane journals look upon the fusion as a work of divine interposition. It is hardly necessary to say that Henri V. is going as soon as possible on a private pilgrimage of his own to what is already the favorite and soon will be the historic shrine of Marie Alacoque.

The Government troops in Spain have now recaptured from the insurgent Communists, as the *Intransigentes* are beginning to be called, Cadiz, Seville, Valencia, Granada, and Salamanca. With the exception of Cartagena, which still holds out under General Contreras, the insurgents appear to have no strongholds left. The canton of Murcia, of which Cartagena is the principal town, is carrying on active war, not only against Spain, but the rest of Europe as well. The situation of the city, which is one of the finest ports on the Mediterranean, has been very convenient for Contreras, who has sent out several piratical expeditions to levy contributions from the citizens of other towns along the coast. It was on one of the expeditions that Almeria, an unfortified town, was bombarded, with such success that an attack on Malaga was resolved upon. The corsair fleet consisted of the iron-clads *Almanza* and *Vittoria*, Contreras being on board the former. They were overtaken, however, near Malaga by the English vessel *Swiftsure*, Captain Ward, and the German *Friedrich Karl*, Commodore Werner. During the bombardment of Almeria, the house of the German Consul had been shelled by the Spaniards, and for this reason, as well as many others, the English Captain and the German Commodore entered at once into an offensive and defensive alliance, and proceeded to drive the Spanish vessels back into the harbor of Cartagena. On their way they fell in with the English Mediterranean Squadron, under Admiral Yelverton, and it was arranged that the Spanish crews should be landed at Cartagena, but the vessels detained.

These conditions were discussed with the foreign consuls, all of whom, it is said, but the French came on board the *Friedrich Karl*. Some of the *Intransigentes* came on board from the town, and made an attempt to get better terms; but Commodore Werner told them that they were nothing but pirates and robbers, and, if they attempted to show fight, he would not only knock the town to pieces, but blow the vessels out of the water, and hang the government of the place at his yard-arm. The English and German fleet lay for some time outside the harbor with the captured vessels, the terms having been finally accepted; the insurgent forces in the town threatening dreadful things in case any foreign vessel came inside. Inside lay the rebel vessel *Mendez Nunez*, with a naval mob on board, and there was at one time considerable reason to anticipate a fight. The Cartagena Junta tried to obtain a promise from the blockading fleet that the *Almanza* and *Vittoria* should be neutralized—that is to say, should be held by the foreigners until the war between Murcia and the Madrid Government was terminated. This promise, however, was not given; but the Admiral undertook to make a recommendation to that effect to the English Government. The Junta then gave orders to prepare for a terrible combat; but at the last accounts the vessels had been taken to Gibraltar. How the conflict was avoided is not yet known. Meanwhile, the operations in the north against the Carlists continue, with how much success it is impossible to say. The Government has captured the English vessel *Deerhound* in an attempt to run in arms for the Carlists—the same *Deerhound* which took Semmes off the *Alabama*. The naval imbroglio at Cartagena is talked about in certain quarters as an international difficulty; but as the independent sovereignty, or even the belligerency, of the canton of Murcia has not been recognized by any of the Great Powers, the opinion of Commodore Werner, that the forces in that city are pirates and robbers, seems to be correct.

## THE NEXT DESCENT UPON THE TREASURY.

IN his last Annual Message to Congress, General Grant, who seemed determined once for all to have it understood that he was quite capable of taking broad, comprehensive views, called the attention of Congress to certain very important enterprises. "The attention of Congress," he said, "will be called, during the present session, to various enterprises for the more certain and cheaper transportation of the constantly increasing surplus of Western and Southern products to the Atlantic seaboard." One of these enterprises he described as a "route to connect the Mississippi Valley with the Atlantic at Charleston, S. C., and Savannah, Georgia, by water, by way of the Ohio and Tennessee Rivers and canals and slack-water navigation to the Savannah and Ocmulgee Rivers," and said that it had already been surveyed and reported on by an accomplished officer of the army. Second, another route to secure the same object, "by an extension of the Kanawha and James River Canal to the Ohio"; and third, another, by extension of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal; and, in addition to these, "a project to facilitate commerce, by the building of a ship-canal around Niagara Falls, on the United States side, which has been agitated for many years," was mentioned.

For the consideration of these plans the President recommended the appointment of a committee, with power to report at some future time. To the support of none of them, however, did he pledge himself, partly, no doubt, from a wise hesitation in matters of which he knew nothing, but partly also for another reason, which he made sufficiently plain in the same Message. "Looking," the Message continues, "to the great future growth of the country and the increasing demands of commerce, it might be well, while on this subject, not only to have examined and reported upon the various practicable routes for connecting the Mississippi with tide-water on the Atlantic, but the feasibility of an almost continuous land-locked navigation from Maine to the Gulf of Mexico. Such a route along our coast would be of great value at all times, and of inestimable value in case of foreign war. Nature has provided the greater part of this route, and the obstacles to overcome are easily within the reach of the engineer." Into the details of this remarkable plan, which is evidently a pet project of the President, he did not enter, perhaps for the same reason that he has not as yet informed the public what are the grounds for his devout expectation that the twentieth century will see all the nations of the earth speaking one and the same language, and united in a federal republic. It seems clear, whatever the details may turn out to be, that the President will favor any plan which may be brought before the next Congress for securing this land-locked navigation from Maine to the Gulf of Mexico. In accordance with the recommendations of the Message, a committee was appointed by the Senate, with Senator Windom, of Minnesota, as chairman, with full power to sit during the summer, and travel about the country for the purpose of investigating the subject of cheaper and more certain transportation. This committee, known as the Senate Transportation Committee, and which has already done a good deal of travelling, is soon to hold a meeting in this city, and give a general hearing to everybody on the subject.

At the close of the last session of Congress, then, immediately after the exposure in the *Credit Mobilier* investigation of the way in which the money of the country is spent on national highway schemes, there was in existence a committee charged practically with the duty of reporting to the next Congress on a variety of new schemes of such vast magnitude that, in comparison with them, the Union Pacific Railroad sinks to the level of a local turnpike.

The appointment of a committee of this kind is usually the signal for the immediate development of an enormous amount of enthusiasm on the subject of the committee's investigations, and, naturally enough, the committee had hardly been called together when from all sides there flocked together transporters, shippers, producers, politicians, and yeomen, not, indeed, at first interested in the proceedings of the committee, but interested in the fact that the air was full of signs that a descent might be made upon the next

Congress in the cause of cheap transportation. In May a "Producers' Convention" was held at the Astor House in this city, and it was at this meeting that a speech was made by a veteran railroad promoter in favor of a double-steel-track freight railroad, built by the Government from the West to the East for the purpose of moving the crops. One direct result was the formation of the "American Cheap Transportation Association," having for its object this "people's movement," promising "increasing facilities for commerce, cheaper food for the people, a reform in public morals, and a practical step towards civil-service reform," through a Government-built, double-steel-track freight railroad for the purpose of moving the crops to deep water. At the time of this convention, a Congressional excursion party was being carried about by the city of St. Louis for the purpose of examining the means of improving the navigation of the Mississippi, while a convention of Governors had just been held at Atlanta to consider the advisability of a canal through Georgia to the port of Brunswick or Savannah. Besides this there is the Darien Ship Canal, which has been actually surveyed, and which it is estimated will cost \$60,000,000. With regard to this canal, it is proposed in a pamphlet we have before us that an association of individuals should obtain from the U. S. Congress a national charter, and upon an expenditure of ten millions on the work, should ask from Congress a guaranteed interest upon \$30,000,000, with such safeguards as Congress may see fit to impose.

All these schemes, however, are unimportant in comparison with the designs of the farmers. The local schemes to which we have referred are all promoted by a few interested persons, who have behind them no very large party. The farmers, on the other hand, have not only the design to secure cheap transportation, they have powerful numbers, complete and effective organization, and in several States already hold the balance of power in their hands. Their designs for the winter are of the utmost importance. Hitherto, it has been supposed that their intentions were chiefly to fix the rates of transportation through the local legislatures, and, so far as the movements have been political, they have as yet done little more than secure the passage of a freight law by Illinois. This law, however, as we have often said, is a complete failure. Its general result has been to raise the rates of transportation, and thus apparently to show those engaged in the movement that nothing can be done without going to Washington.

From all these facts, it is certainly not a very rash inference that at the next session these various canal and railroad systems will be urged upon the attention of Congress with much energy. Into the merits of the several schemes we do not propose to enter; but there are certain general considerations connected with them which seem to us of too much importance to be passed over.

In the first place, it is not very long since the land-grant system, as it is called, was formally abandoned by Congress, and the country was congratulating itself that the public lands were not going to be squandered away for the benefit of greedy railroad corporations. There is, however, no difference in principle between the granting of subsidies in the shape of moneys to a ship-canal, or to a scheme for "land-locked" navigation from Maine to Mexico, and the granting of land for the purpose of building a great national highway. There is, indeed, much less immediate apparent objection to the latter, because the gift of the lands apparently involves no immediate increase of taxation, while a gift of money does. As a matter of fact, of course, the subtraction of either land from the public domain or money from the public treasury is so much out of the pockets of the people. What are the reasons why Congress has put a stop to land-grants? It has done so under the pressure of a very strong public opinion, and the only solid foundation for that opinion is that Congress is not to be trusted any longer with so dangerous a function as special legislation for the purpose of subsidizing private enterprises, however much they might, if properly carried out, benefit the public. In every State in the country in which the State constitutions are undergoing revision, one of the principal objects



of the revisers is to take away from the State legislatures this power. The *Crédit Mobilier* investigation showed how the power is used.

There is another consideration connected with this subject which seems to have escaped general attention. A year ago, we were assured by everybody that the great desire of the farmers of the West was for free-trade. They were the real anti-monopolists, who were to break down the protectionists' strongholds. It did indeed seem at the time as if this were so. Since the beginning of the farmers' movement, however, it has become every day clearer that free-trade makes no part of their programme, which is in reality a descent upon the Treasury at Washington for a sufficient sum of money to enable them to carry their crops to the ocean whether they are wanted there or not. The farmers have, in short, well learnt the only lesson which the politics of the last twenty years has taught, that the true remedy for all economical difficulties was not free-trade, but protection. It is protection in transportation which the farmers are going to seek next winter at Washington. The Illinois farmer has seen every one but himself go to Washington for money to assist him in his business with success. He has seen the salt and coal and iron miner, the cotton and woollen mill-owner, the wool-grower, and every one engaged in the business of manufactures, when trade was dull, seek his remedy at Washington by change of the tariff. Thus far these others have managed to do it pretty much at his expense. It was the farmer who was taxed on his blankets, his shoes, his stove, his shirt, his coat, his hat, his stockings, his hoes, rakes, spades, shovels, harness; who was taxed, while he remained a healthy and laborious producer, on everything by which he supported life; if he lost his health, on the medicine which was to restore him to his productive condition again; and if he died, on the very grave-stone which covered his body. He has endured this long enough; he has naturally enough determined to see whether the agricultural interest is to be the only non-protected interest in the country. He knows a far simpler way of finding out than by studying the works of Adam Smith. He takes the same means he has seen his neighbors take. He goes to Washington, and there to his surprise finds a vast number of people interested in the question of cheap transportation. One man wishes to have cheap transportation by way of Niagara, another by way of Darien, another by way of the Kanawha Valley, another through the heart of Georgia. The President himself, even, is interested in the subject, having recommended "land-locked navigation" in his last Annual Message. The way is obvious. A judicious system of log-rolling is organized, and the result is, not that any one of the various schemes succeeds, but that all do; and the farmer goes back to his constituents protected against the market for six months.

#### THE DEFECTS OF THE POSTAL SERVICE.

THE English postal service has recently been subjected to some criticism both in Parliament and in the newspapers. The Postmaster-General is invested with much more discretionary power in England than is given to him in this country, and in the exercise of this power he established a regulation to the effect that no package which appeared to contain money or stamps should go through the mails except as a registered letter. This wide latitude of executive discretion, we may remark, is one of the characteristics of the English system, for the reason that the head of an executive department can be so readily and effectively called to account in Parliament for any abuse of his powers. Accordingly, in this instance, the regulation had hardly gone into operation before the Government was questioned in Parliament as to the reason for a rule which appeared onerous and inconvenient. It appeared in the discussion that the use of postage-stamps is now a common method of remitting small amounts in England, some dealers stating that they received on an average as many as one hundred such enclosures a day, and that the Post-office Department cashed these stamps at a trifling discount. To require such letters to be registered, it was said, would be, to say the least, an inconvenience; and if a man chose to risk his bank-

bills or postal stamps in the ordinary way, had he not a right to do so? And was it not arbitrary in the Post-office to subject him to the additional expense and trouble of registering a letter when he preferred to subject himself to the additional risk instead? To this the Government answered that the Post-office had not the right to prohibit absolutely the sending of valuable packages through the mails, and that the regulation in question was merely intended to exclude such as palpably invited the agents of the Department to dishonest practices; that ample facilities are given for sending money or valuables in a safe way; and that the sending of money in ordinary letters is a kind of bounty on speculation which impairs the general usefulness of the mail service. The answer was not altogether satisfactory to the objectors; but it was cheerfully admitted, both in Parliament and by the press, that in England there is no department of the public service which has so carefully studied public convenience, and which gives such universal satisfaction, as the Post-office.

To our own mail service, with its extended routes and loose, political administration, such a regulation would be peculiarly applicable. The post-office, primarily, is neither a common carrier for carrying packages nor a banker for transmitting funds. Its original function is simply that of a public agency for the universal transmission of intelligence. Hence it is that post-offices and mail routes are and ought to be established which, in a business sense, will never pay. The complete transmission of intelligence between the most distant points, and to the most secluded hamlets, is one of the conditions of civilization. It is also a condition, if not of free government, certainly of intelligent government. One can hardly imagine what would be the condition of national affairs if the greater part of our population, cut off from letters and newspapers, knew little more of affairs in Washington than the returning members chose to tell them. It is for these reasons that the post-office rises above money-making contrivances into the region of public necessities. Whatever its cost on the one hand, or its defects on the other, it can never be dispensed with; and as it is the one agency of Government that comes impartially to every man's door—even to the poor freedman or emigrant who cannot read the missive which it delivers—it is not surprising that it is the one which most studies public convenience.

As a consequence of this study, the European post-offices have devised, and our own has copied, the money-order and registered-letter systems; the one being neither more nor less than a banking business by means of bills of exchange, and the other a common carrier, for the transportation of valuable packages. Both are of very great public convenience, but neither comes within the fundamental principle, that the post-office is a means for the general transmission of intelligence. Nevertheless, though not established for the primary object, they have become necessary auxiliaries of it, and, properly used by the public, enable the post-office to attend to its real business of transmitting intelligence with greatly augmented certainty and despatch. If all the money now sent through these systems were inclosed in ordinary letters, one of two things would be inevitable—either that the temptation to mail robberies would be immense, or that the post-office must resort to certain checks in the way of records and receipts. Such checks are not compatible with either economy or despatch. Two things we must have for ordinary letters—the utmost cheapness and the utmost speed. To delay a mail while the clerks are counting and registering the letters, or to double the postage for the purpose of having a great array of clerks, would not accord with either our convenience or necessities. Hence everything approaching the registration of ordinary letters has disappeared from the post-office routine, and the system has come down to absolute, primitive simplicity. We drop a letter into a city box; it is taken by a carrier to the post-office, assorted, and sent with others to the mail-car, there reassorted as it travels and put up for some "distributing office"; at which it is a third time assorted, and sent to the village to which it is addressed. From first to last there is

nothing to show that such a letter was received or carried or delivered. In its transmission it passes through at least five different hands, and if it were to be purloined there would not be the slightest direct evidence to show which of the five agencies was responsible for its loss. It is evident with a system so loose in its business methods that it in effect says to every clerk, "You may help yourself until suspicion be aroused and the eye of the detective be upon you." One cannot afford to freight it with matter that does not belong to it. Every man who puts money in an ordinary letter not only runs a direct and needless risk himself, but he impairs the usefulness of the service for every other man who uses it for its legitimate purpose. Therefore it is that the money-order and registered-letter systems have become necessary auxiliaries of the post-office in its primary and proper work of disseminating intelligence; and if men wish to go beyond this primary work (as to which cheapness and speed are the chief essentials), and avail themselves of its business facilities (as to which care and safety are additional elements), then it would not be unreasonable to compel them by law to resort to its appointed business machinery, and leave its general usefulness unimpaired.

To this end, we call attention to the peculiar advantages of the registered-letter system; and we note the singular fact that a large majority of people have not the slightest practical knowledge of its existence. In the first place, it is in operation in every post-office, and is not, like the money-order system, confined to those which do a considerable amount of mail business. So far as the sender is concerned, the cost is trivial (fifteen cents), and there is not the double operation of sending to the post-office for a money-order and then enclosing it in a letter. On the contrary, he can enclose his money in his letter as he writes it, affix six stamps instead of one, and sending it to the post-office by any messenger receive back the postmaster's receipt. On the part of the receiver there is also the same advantage of a single operation, for he finds the money in the letter when he opens it, and is not obliged to present his money-order at the post-office for payment. But there is also this peculiar advantage, although the registered letter be sent from New York to the remotest prairie post-office in Texas, there comes back to the sender, in course of time, the receipt of the party to whom it is addressed, and this the Post-office brings to him without an additional charge. Thus it saves the receiver the trouble and cost of acknowledging its receipt, and assures the sender that his remittance was actually delivered. So far as safety is involved, the system is subject to the usual casualties, such as fire and shipwreck, but apart from those may be said to be nearly perfect. Every mail agent, from the first postmaster to the last, receipts for the package when he receives it, so that if a loss occurs the Department can put its hand upon the responsible party. As a matter of fact, we believe that no loss has occurred under the present revised system, except such as would come under the head of actual casualties.

But while these conveniences are certainly such as should be appreciated, there are others which are most needlessly withheld from the public. The old-time carrier's cart has, in this country, passed into the hands of great corporations called express companies. These companies have ingeniously arranged their routes, so that a package going from one point to another shall be transferred from one company to another, or, in other words, shall pay double or treble expressage. If, now, a bookseller in New York has to send a handsomely bound book to a country correspondent, it is practically excluded from the registered-letter system by the requirement of letter postage. It would cost the Government no more to transport it in one mail-bag than in another, and the registration fee would indeed yield the Government a handsome profit; but the system is now restricted to letter matter. If the bookseller would send it as printed matter, he must leave one end exposed, so as to tempt every clerk who handles it, and with a tolerable certainty that the binding will be injured before the book arrives. Consequently, he is driven to the express, and his customer pays the double expressage. Again, many small articles which it would

be a great convenience to send by mail, cannot be left exposed without the certainty of their loss. In Europe, a package of samples can be sent from London to Brussels, carefully enclosed and sealed up, at printed-matter rates. But the fact that cheap postage has done away with the old tricks and expedients for evading letter postage is a fact not yet perceived by the Congressional mind; and our postal laws still cautiously retain the provisions which in other countries have become obsolete. At least, in such cases, the examination might be deferred till the package is delivered, and the final postmaster be authorized then to open it and see whether it be subject to letter postage.

So long as our Government is managed by politicians, for the benefit of themselves and their party, it is idle to hope that any large amount of brain-work will be given to any branch of the public service. The utmost that we can expect from the Postal Department is that it will borrow, with reasonable rapidity, the improvements which European governments devise. It has taken four years to transport postal cards from Berlin to Washington; which, considering that the journey can be made in a fortnight, certainly seems an unreasonable length of time. The only American improvement which we have to show is the postal car, and it did not come until sleeping cars and restaurant cars had fairly forced the idea into the official mind. Our extended routes on the one hand, and our intelligent, reading, migratory population on the other, furnish a magnificent field for official ingenuity; and instead of a system which is content to drag along tardily in the rear, we ought now to have one decidedly in advance of every other.

#### THE LIONS OF DIJON.

MARTIGNY, August 8, 1873.

I WOULD advise every traveller who runs over from Paris to Geneva to stop for a day at Dijon, once the capital of the famous Duchy of Burgundy. No province of France has played a more important part in history. The Dukes of Burgundy were for a long time among the most formidable rivals of the kings. Bourgogne and Armagnac were the war-cries for a long period; and the quiet capital of a French Department, now administered by a prefect, was in those times a city as important as Paris. Its walls have been demolished, but the numerous spires of the churches, even at a great distance, bear witness to the past magnificence of the town. It must always perplex the traveller to find in a place like Dijon, which, by reason of the wine-trade, is still a centre of great wealth, hotels which would be a dishonor to the remotest town in the far West. I was taken, on a recent visit, by a landlord in his shirt sleeves, up a dark and dingy staircase to a room which was furnished only with a bed, a cane chair, and dirty curtains. But the bed was clean and good, as is almost invariably the case in a French inn, and the landlord, after having asked the news from Paris and given me at full length his opinion on the situation, ordered for me an excellent meal, better than I could have procured in a Paris restaurant. Too much respect and an old tail-coat have never seemed to me as agreeable as an affable landlord who does the honors *à la française*. My new friend would readily have told me the history of his life, of his family, of his neighbors, but I found him as ignorant of the antiquities of Dijon as if he had been born in Brittany. Fortunately, I did not need his services. The lions of Dijon are well-known to every scholar. They are the tombs of the Dukes of Burgundy and the famous Puits de Moïse (well of Moses).

Among many religious establishments, the favorite of the dukes was a *Chartreuse*, built a mile from the town. It had become the St. Denis of Dijon. The order of the Chartreux was founded in the XIth century by St. Bruno, and for seven centuries the rules laid down by the saint were strictly obeyed. Philip the Bold built the Chartreuse, and employed the most famous artists of the fourteenth century. A large church was erected in five years. Nothing now remains of it except the portal, with a large statue of the Virgin and two kneeling statues of Philip and his wife. This portal is now the entrance of a new chapel, which no longer receives either monks or dukes, but the poor creatures who live in the Chartreuse, which has been turned into the lunatic asylum of the Department. The tombs of the dukes which adorned the church have been transported to the palace of the dukes, which had become afterwards the palace of the States-General of Burgundy, and which serves now as a museum. Of this palace, which is truly splendid in its proportions, nothing remains of the old building except a strange Gothic tower, very



irregular in its form, and the guard-room, which was saved from the fire which destroyed all the rest. This guard-room is of magnificent size. In its chimney a whole deer could be roasted, and sixty knights could sit round it. The top of the chimney is a huge framework in the Gothic style, which extends to the roof. Opposite the chimney is the tomb of Philip the Bold. His painted statue is lying over the great rectangular tomb, built of black marble. Over his head two kneeling angels with gilded wings hold his helmet. His head rests on a pillow painted half red and half blue. His crown has not the form of a modern crown; it is a simple band of gold covered with large jewels. The duke holds his two hands as if he were praying, and his rings are not, as it is now the fashion, on the third phalanx of the fingers, but on the second. His long gown and his mantle lie in noble folds, and his pointed iron shoes emerging at the end rest on a lion. There is a strange majesty in the attitude of this giant-warrior, wrapt in a sort of sacerdotal robe. But the most curious part of the monument is a kind of miniature cloister which runs all round the tomb, and which is built in alabaster, cut in the most delicate manner. Under the arches of this cloister are the mourners of the duke—monks, priests, dependants of all sorts, in every attitude of grief. It is like a people of pigmies mourning over a giant. The carving of them is exquisite, and all the details of their costume carry the mind back to past ages.

A second tomb of equal size, which was made on the model of the first, bears the statues of Jean-sans-peur and Margaret of Bavaria, his wife. Two winged angels bear the helmet of the duke, and two the arms of the princess. I will remark here that the escutcheon of Burgundy is always supported by winged angels, and that it bears the fleur-de-lis, as King John, who was a prisoner in England, gave the Duchy of Burgundy to his younger brother Philip, who had at the age of fourteen fought by his side at Poitiers. All round this second tomb also is an alabaster cloister, under which are a number of monks, weeping, praying, moving in every direction. Nothing can well give an impression of these extraordinary monuments; their preservation is perfect, though one sees in the black marble top fissures which run across. At the time of the Terror, in '93, an order was sent to destroy the tombs of the tyrants; but this order was executed intelligently—the black marble was simply fissured and not broken. A few of the little alabaster monks were stolen, but have since been replaced.

Some idea of the magnificence of the old St. Denis of the Dukes of Burgundy may be formed from inspection of the two movable altar-pieces (in French called *retables*), which are in carved wood, completely gilt, and which represent various scenes of the Passion, the sides being covered with lovely statues of saints and martyrs. St. George is particularly noticeable, as he is in the exact costume of a knight of the fifteenth century. The temptation of St. Anthony is also one of the subjects of this fanciful decoration; a black devil offers him a purse of gold, a form of temptation which will always be well understood. A young woman also comes before the saint, but she is completely covered with one of those long gowns without folds and without any visible *ceinture*, which were the fashion at the time of Margaret of Bavaria. The artistic ideal of the Middle Ages was chaste, and did not allow in a church such representations as are so common in the "Temptations of St. Anthony" painted afterwards by the Flemish masters. The young princess who tempts the saint would not be distinguishable from a saint, except that she wears on her long flowing hair two small horns. Over the altar hangs an old piece of tapestry, which is very well preserved, and is almost as interesting as the tapestry of Bayeux. It represents the siege of Dijon (1513). The bear of Berne is still visible on one of the standards. The Swiss were secretly bribed by a large sum of gold, suddenly left their allies, and Dijon was saved by their retreat. The profile of the town, with its numerous spires and churches, was very much then what it is now at a distance. Burgundy, it must be remembered, was one of the centres of early Christianity in Gaul. St. Stephen is the oldest church, and St. Bénigne the oldest abbey. Round them is a congregation of secondary churches—St. Vincent, Notre Dame, St. Médard, St. Michel, the Holy Chapel. In other parts of the town are St. John, St. Philbert, St. Nicholas, St. Peter. St. Stephen, the mother-church as it were, was built in the fourth century, but became a cathedral only long afterwards. The abbots enjoyed many privileges and coined their own money. Since 1178, Notre Dame has been the first parish church of the town; its façade, though built in the Gothic style, has a very unusual form. It is rectangular, and has two stories of columns over the porch, without any windows. This shape is not very pleasing to the eye.

The church of St. Bénigne was the centre of a part of the town which was outside the old *castrum romanum*, and enjoyed peculiar privileges. It was the first refuge of the Christians at the time when the Roman *pratores* still inhabited the *castrum*. It was in this church, which had received the remains of the apostle of Burgundy, that the dukes afterwards swore solemnly

to respect the ancient rights of the town and of the Duchy. Little remains of the oldest part of the church, built in the circular Roman style over the tomb of St. Bénigne. The legends connected with this tomb are innumerable, and it is enough to say that for centuries it was one of the holy places of Gaul. The abbot was in direct dependence on the Pope, and it was probably in this capacity that he received the oath of the dukes, and gave, as their superior lord, the ducal ring, the mantle, and the crown.

I must now attempt to describe the well of Moses. Imagine a large well full of water; in the centre rises a huge column, whose capital is of enormous size, and is divided into six parts. In each part is a statue of a size larger than life. First, you see Moses, with the tables of the law in his hand, a long flowing beard, and two short horns, like the Moses of Michael Angelo; if we turn a little on the circular platform which has been built round the monument, we come to King David, with a harp in his hand and a crown on his head, not a single band like the crown of the dukes, but a high crown formed of separate branches. The other statues represent Jeremiah (the expression of anguish and pain on his face is truly wonderful), then Zacharias, in the vestments of a high-priest; Daniel, with a curious Asiatic cap; and Isaiah, with a book under his arm. Each of these statues is admirable; they are not stiff and meagre; they are full of life and of majesty. They were all painted in the fashion of the time (the date of the monument is 1399), and many traces of the gilding and of the colors are still visible. Over these huge figures is a line of winged angels, which support the upper part of the capital, on which was built a Calvary, Jesus on the cross, with the holy women and St. John at his feet. This part of the monument has been unfortunately destroyed. The statues of the capital, in the conception of the artist, represent the precursors of Christ, David his ancestor, and the prophets who had beforehand had a vision of the Passion; they hold in their hands long rolls, on which are inscribed, in Gothic characters, the verses of the Old Testament which relate to the death of the Messiah. Moses represents the old Law, considered as the fountain of the new Law. Many pages have been written in explanation of this monument; to my mind, the idea is very simple, and this very simplicity adds much to the effect. The cross of Christ, which was on the top, was the central idea; all the details of the capital were simply grouped round it, as additional ideas. The absence of John the Baptist has been much commented upon. I leave it to the exegetists to explain it; I will only say that Saint John the Baptist seldom appears in the monuments of the Middle Ages; his importance, as an artistic element, does not even begin with the early schools of painting, and is only very noticeable at the time when art had made great progress in Italy (with Perugino, Donatello, etc.) It is probably because the scene of the baptism requires a great familiarity with the naked form of man, and the early artists avoided the nude as much as they could.

The traveller will find much more to see in Dijon: the old palace of its parliament, which serves now for the law courts, and many private houses of interest, among which is one which was once inhabited by the ambassadors of England, for the Dukes of Burgundy were at one time the allies of England; but in our day we live somewhat in a hurry, and an æsthetic mind will be quite satisfied with the contemplation of the guard-room of the palace, of the tombs of the dukes, and of the well of Moses. We keep only a few features of the past, and we must try to choose the purest of all.

#### MORLEY'S ROUSSEAU.\*

PARIS, July 30, 1873.

MR. MORLEY has done for Rousseau what he had done already for Voltaire. He has not simply written his biography—he has made this biography the ground, the first plan of a philosophical and political picture of the eighteenth century. Judged at this long distance of a century, these two men, Voltaire and Rousseau, assume now very different proportions. Voltaire had more practical effect in his own age, and Rousseau in the age which followed him. Voltaire, though he advocated so many changes, appears to us as a conservative, and Rousseau as the very genius of revolution and of socialism. Voltaire is more really humane and philanthropic, though he wrote for the great; and Rousseau, who wrote, so to speak, against the great, was at heart a despot, a hater of mankind. Voltaire was wanting in sentiment, but he had an exquisite urbanity, and he hated cruelty with a sort of noble fervor; Rousseau was always in tears, overflowing with sensibility, but his sensibility belonged to the nervous temperament, and his soul was really tuned and formed like the souls of the Terrorists of the French Revolution.

\* 'Rousseau.' By John Morley. New York: Scribner, Welford & Armstrong. 2 volumes. 1873.

The secret of all his political and philosophical work must be sought for in his life, and it is with much reason that Mr. Morley devotes so many chapters to his youth, and to his wandering life in Savoy and Switzerland. One can hardly read a few pages in the two volumes of Mr. Morley without being referred to the 'Confessions.' The 'Confessions' is in fact Rousseau's great work, his enduring work; for his 'Essays,' his 'Contrat Social,' his 'Emile,' his 'Nouvelle Héloïse,' can hardly be read now from beginning to end without tedium. There is in them something so utterly false, so unreal, that one wonders how the French society of the eighteenth century could have been fed so long on such unsubstantial nourishment. These books, notwithstanding their magnificent style, strike us as do the fashions of another age. It seems as if the dresses of the Empire or the Directory could never have been really worn. Is the 'Nouvelle Héloïse' really a love-story—this perpetual preaching on love—this eternal confusion and distinction of virtuous vice and vicious virtue? Give me rather the letters of Héloïse and Abélard, or the pastoral of Daphne and Chloe, or the short ode of Sappho. Is 'Emile' a treatise on education? Take me to the wild Indians or to any tribe of savages rather than to a people of Emiles. I would rather die at once than be so *ennuyé*. Is the 'Contrat Social' the gospel of a new political faith? What could be more unreal, more fantastic than a theory founded on the supposition that men in the woods, troglodytes, formed a compact, invented the ballot and universal suffrage? What we call "the state" is not, and never was, an initial cause. It is an effect, the ever-changing effect, of long centuries of culture and civilization.

But the errors which were proved so dangerous, during the Terror, of the 'Contrat Social,' as well as the errors of the 'Emile,' can all be traced to the same cause, which must be found in the 'Confessions.' What a distance there is between the 'Confessions' of St. Augustine and those of Rousseau! Both represent themselves as great sinners, but one is almost as proud of his sins as the other is ashamed of them. St. Augustine is the founder of the doctrine of grace and of election; in his eyes, man deserves nothing from the hands of God; he owes everything to the generosity, to the goodness, of the Almighty. All the doctrines of Calvin, of Jansen, of Pascal, are in germ in the 'Confessions' of St. Augustine. Rousseau's 'Confessions' are conceived in a totally different spirit; he uses his sins simply as weapons against society; instead of believing in the total depravity of man, he believes in the perfection of the individual, isolated man; he endows his ideal *natural* man with all the virtues; his vices, his faults are only forced upon him by a forced state of society. Rousseau himself is, so to speak, this *natural* man, moving among a corrupt people, in conflict with civilization. He is a *solitaire* among millions; he cannot dress like anybody else; he invents a style, and speaks of the subtilities of nature in a manner quite unknown in an age of small verses, of well-cut French parterres, like the parterres of Versailles and of St. Cloud. He teaches mothers to nurse their own children; his Emile must learn a trade; and such is the influence of the new teacher that we see even now, in the palace of Versailles, traces of the handicraftsmanship of Louis XVI. This revolution can be compared, to a certain extent, to what has been called in our time in England muscular Christianity, and so far had some good effects; but the naturalism of Rousseau had much wider consequences in the moral order. Open any book you like written in the latter part of the eighteenth century, read any speech you may choose of the Constituent Assembly or the Convention, and you will find marks of the deep impression produced by the teachings of Rousseau. The whole of society seems pervaded with the poisonous doctrine, which exonerates the individual man and throws all responsibilities on the ideal, unknowable, invisible "state." At least, when Louis XIV. proudly said, "l'état c'est moi," he assumed a responsibility, he undertook to make France great, glorious, and prosperous. But what will become of a state in which every man considers himself as perfect, will attempt no struggle with his own passions, spend his days in glorified selfishness, and expects from the "state" the gratification of all his wishes, desires, and even caprices?

Rousseau tells us how he was walking from Paris to Vincennes, on a visit to Diderot, and felt suddenly inspired, entranced, by seeing in a newspaper the announcement of the following theme propounded by the Academy of Dijon: "Has the revival of science contributed to purify or to corrupt manners?" Of course Rousseau pleaded the cause of ignorance against science. This paradoxical essay, written, as Rousseau himself confesses, without conviction, determined however the direction of his entire intellectual career. He entered the lists as an enemy of civilization, of all conventions, of all historical forces. He was not a charlatan; he constructed for himself a sort of belief in the wickedness of society and the intrinsic virtue and perfection of man. He was a visionary; every eye can perceive the defects of society, but every eye cannot see the ideal Emile. His brain was certainly somewhat diseased, for he had all his life that strange

delirium of persecution which is a common symptom of impending madness. Rousseau lived in a land of dreams, he was essentially anti-scientific, anti-positivist. Mr. Morley justly remarks that the 'Spirit of Laws' of Montesquieu had initiated a true method for the study of history and legislation, of a method founded upon facts: "The *Discours*," says he, "was the beginning of a movement in an exactly opposite direction; that is, away from patient collection of wide multitudes of facts relating to the conditions of society, towards the promulgation of arbitrary systems of absolute social dogmas."

This dogmatism culminated in the French Revolution and the various constitutions which were presented to the French people by political dictators amidst thunder and lightning, as a revelation from God; but, long before the Revolution, the national mind had been permeated by it. It is so much easier to drift into theories and dreams, to talk of sensibility, to shed tears over humanity, than to get possession of hard facts, of statistics, to make calculations, to enter into the details of administration! The old régime, nursed with the 'Nouvelle Héloïse' and the impracticable 'Contrat Social,' became quite imbecile, unable to solve the smallest problems. What produced the French Revolution?—the inability to pay a debt of six hundred millions, a sum which seems to us a mere trifle. The system of taxation was ridiculous, and nobody knew how to change it. What is less known is the incapacity of the revolutionists as administrators and financiers. This incapacity was not the result of a subjective defect; it arose from the false method which Rousseau had originated, from the mania of big words and the contempt of small facts. Tocqueville has well proved that the whole system of centralization, which is generally considered as the work of the Convention and of Napoleon, is really the work of Richelieu, of Louis XIV., and of the ministers of Louis XV. Even at this time we have many of the taxes of the old régime. There was little administrative originality in the Revolutionary school, because it was always in a sphere of abstract dogma. To this day the Republican and Socialist parties have remained faithful to the doctrines of the 'Social Contract'; and this is the reason why the germ of Caesarism is concealed in the French ideal of a republic. Gambetta would make no objection to these words: "As nature gives to each man an absolute power over all his members, so the social pact gives to the body politic an absolute power over all its members." Can we not find the theory of what is called by the modern Jacobins the imperative mandate in these words: "Sovereignty, being only the exercise of the general will, can never be alienated; and the sovereign, who is only a collective being, can only be represented by himself; the power may be transmitted, but not the will. Sovereignty is indivisible, not only in principle, but in object." The sections of the Parisian populace held no other doctrines when they dictated their will, amidst glittering bayonets, to the frightened Convention; and Robespierre, in his Declaration of Rights, only echoed Rousseau when he wrote: "The sovereignty resides in the people; it is one and indivisible, imprescriptible and inalienable." Rousseau himself dimly foresaw the dangers of a theory which considers all men as detached atoms of the same weight; and in his constitutional scheme for Poland he insisted upon the advantages of federal governments. In a large country like France—without any federal states, any distinct provinces—ten millions of electors, with unbounded equal and inalienable rights, forbidden to delegate their sovereignty for a limited number of years to any representatives, must either destroy each other or abdicate into the hands of a dictator. He felt at times that perfect equality was a dream, and spoke of elective aristocracy. But on the whole the Anglo-Saxon idea of government was distasteful to him; and he went so far as to say that there was no liberty at all in England. He was democratic and despotic, and considered even the separation of church and state as an abomination.

As Mr. Morley often justly observes, Rousseau ignored history; he drew all his conceptions from his imagination; he ignored the influences of race, of accumulated forces, of habit, of education, of nationality. He was a destroyer, an iconoclast, a hater of the past; but he was at the same time a prophet. His dangerous catechism is easily understood by the masses. He says to every man who suffers: "You suffer not by your own fault, but by the fault of the state, of the kings, of the priests, of the laws, of the rich, of the nobles. Christianity has promised to all men the blessings of eternal life. I offer to you this visible world; it is all your own. You can, by legislation, make yourself king, priest, lord, dictator."

I have not been able to do sufficient justice to the work of Mr. Morley. He has shown in these new volumes the qualities he had already shown in his 'Voltaire'—a perfect knowledge of his subject, a catholic sympathy for all the manifestations of thought. His feelings as a gentleman have often been revolted by the actions of Rousseau, but his respect for genius has always given dignity to his most severe criticisms.



## Correspondence.

## FREIGHT CHARGES AND WATERED STOCK.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The grievance of the farmers is, that the charge for transportation absorbs the profit of raising grain.

The alleged excessive charge for transportation is attributed to the fact that some railroads have "watered" their stock.

The conclusion from this statement is that the larger the nominal capital of a railroad, the more power it has to charge and collect high rates for the service it renders.

In other words, it would appear that if there were but two railroad lines from the seaboard to Iowa, the charge for the transportation of wheat on each line might be in proportion to the nominal capital, and that the line on which stock should be issued without a cash payment thereon would have the power to charge the highest rate. Of course, nothing can be more absurd than this notion.

In considering this question, a definition should be given to the term "watered stock." This term is applied indiscriminately to all stock that is issued in the form of a dividend, or on which no actual assessment in money has been levied and paid, but there are two or three very different kinds of "watered stock."

1. There are many successful roads that have earned an excess of profits above their dividends on the capital actually paid in, or that have forborne to make cash dividends, and have invested their surplus or their earnings in new track or additional equipment, and, having thus furnished themselves with additional power to perform service, have issued stock as a dividend to represent such actual machinery and apparatus.

2. There are roads which, having secured the best route between given points, and having fully equipped their lines, have yet found it possible to earn a fair dividend upon a larger capital than has been actually paid in in cash, and have thereupon issued additional stock, such stock representing no additional equipment or track on which to perform service.

3. There are roads that have been built with the proceeds of bonds, and upon which the stock has been issued as a bonus without any cash payment whatever.

From this definition of three classes of "watered stock," it must be obvious that there can be no connection between the nominal amount of capital, or the nominal cost of a railroad, and the charge made by the road for transportation.

In the first case, the "watered stock" is itself evidence of the power of the road to perform service more effectively and at less rates of charge than would have been possible had not the road earned the equipment of which such watered stock is an evidence.

In the second case, the watered stock is evidence of the existence of traffic between given points that will be certain to attract capital to the construction of another road between those points, or that will cause railroads to be built from the chief market supplied by such a road to other points where products of like character can be obtained.

In the third case, the issue of stock may be, or may not be, a wrong method, but it does not indicate any special power on the part of the road to charge excessive rates, or any different power than would have existed had the payments of cash for the bonds been represented by stock and not by bonds. The fraud, if any, in such case is perpetrated upon those who may afterwards buy the stock on the supposition that it represents a cash payment, and not upon those who send merchandise over the road.

The facts are, that, inasmuch as all our railroads may be classed into the above three classes, with a fourth, in which the stock and bonds would substantially agree with the cash paid in, the nominal amounts of stock and bonds existing upon any given line are no criterion whatever of the rates of transportation that are or may be charged over that line.

So far from the truth is it that the roads most honestly built, and on which the stock and bonds outstanding represent actual cost, can and do perform their work at less charge than any other, that it may appear that roads upon which the stock has been excessively watered, either upon the first or second methods, are worked at less cost for transportation, and at a less charge to the community, than any other roads in the country.

The writer has not the data to prove this point, but it is suggested that a comparison should be made by railroad experts of the comparative rates of charge made by railroads. It would not be difficult to classify roads into the four classes named, and to compare their charges per mile. It is safe to predict that the roads in the first class would prove to be the most serviceable to the community, and thus to prove that there is a substantial identity

of interests between the railroad corporation and the community served by it, and that a war of one class upon the other can result only in harm to both.

NEW ENGLANDER.

## Notes.

LITTLE, BROWN & CO. will publish in the fall two volumes completing the 'Life of Timothy Pickering,' interrupted by the untimely death of Mr. Octavius Pickering. The continuation is the work of Mr. Charles W. Upham.—'Womanhood, its Sanctities and Fidelities,' by Mrs. Isabella B. Hooker, is among the forthcoming publications of Lee & Shepard.—General Lew Wallace is the author of an historical Mexican romance entitled 'The Fair God,' which will make a plump volume of nearly six hundred pages, and will be published by J. R. Osgood & Co. The same house have in press 'Oldport Days,' by Mr. T. W. Higginson.

—If we make in these Notes rather frequent allusions to the Boston Public Library, it is not from any motive of partiality, but in order that as much currency as possible may be given to the examples it is constantly furnishing of how such an institution should be managed for its greatest usefulness. 'The Twenty-first Annual Report of the Trustees' and the new 'Catalogue of Books in the Lower Hall' (History, Biography, and Travel) invite remark in this sense. The Library now consists of a central hall and three ward or district branches, comprising a collection of more than 220,000 volumes, or double the number possessed ten years ago. Of these, 92,333 are recorded as gifts; a fact which needs no comment. The most important acquisition of the year has been the Barton Library, of which we made mention at the time of the purchase. The present Report gives no particular statement of its composition. The most novel experiment, and one hotly contested, has been the Sunday opening of the Periodical Reading-room. The result of it, say the Trustees, "has probably disappointed the expectations of those who took extreme views on one side or the other," but that it has brought in a class of readers not reached before, and that it is worth the outlay, seems to be conceded. "The use has been from one-half to three-quarters of the average week-day use," and the attendance uniformly decorous. The feature of the above-named Catalogue which is new and striking, is the liberal insertion of notes designed to facilitate farther reading or study of any given topic. They do not consist of a bare list of authorities, but aim at discriminating among them intelligently and without bias. They are found under general articles like Slavery, Indians, Mohammedanism, Art, and under the names of individuals like Washington, Luther, Webster, Napoleon, etc., etc., while the historical notes under England, France, India, United States, and the like are elaborately subdivided into heads of enquiry which greatly lighten the task of consulting them. When reference is made to a work in the Library itself (and this is of course almost always the case), the hall, shelf, and number are added, permitting instant examination without further trouble. The nature of this work, we need scarcely add, adapts it for general use in all libraries, and in almost every study, and it ought to find a place beside the regular catalogue of every institution of the kind in the country.

—Evidence of a supermundane circulation of the N. Y. *World* would appear to have been afforded by an occurrence last winter at a spiritual *séance* in London. Mr. Holmes, described as "a celebrated physical medium from America," officiated, and he and another gentleman held a clean slate in a darkened cabinet, with the usual guaranty against trickery. When it was withdrawn, the following "sentiment" was found written on it:

"The same process of philosophy that materializes spirit also spiritualizes matter. We lose nothing in giving up the old ideas of immateriality if we still hold that matter is cunning enough to produce consciousness, thought, affection, and will. Names are of no consequence. If the latest thinkers choose to call the thing that manifests these phenomena nervous fluid, or ether, or force, or tissue under the play and vibration of a combination of forces, I do not see in this language any danger of our shocking our old-fashioned souls. Matter or dynamical machinery that is capable of personality, is very likely to have also the faculty of immortality. Good-night, dear friends. Doctor."

All this was duly published in a London spiritual journal called *Human Nature*, but only lately fell under the eyes of Mr. J. H. Noyes, the patriarch of the Oneida Community, who at once recognized part of an article on "Positivism" which he contributed to the *World* in January, 1869, with one or two verbal errors in the transcription ("process" for *progress*, "shocking" for *losing*), and the addition, "Good-night," etc. Mr. Noyes is now trying to decide whether he or the "Doctor" was the original author of the passage, and whether, if it was merely a quotation on the Doctor's part, and more quotations are likely to be made by the same irresponsible plagiarist, there is any way by which he (Mr. Noyes) can correct proof before delivery.

—A late number of the *Pall Mall Gazette* contains an interesting notice of the French artist Gavarni, the biography of the brothers De Goncourt "suggesting," but not "furnishing, the materials" for the article. It is curious enough that he was first privately known as an admirable designer of fashion plates. An engineer by profession, he "seems to have forsaken his original calling at the earliest opportunity, merely for the sake of drawing gentlemen and ladies in irreproachable attire." He always kept up his mathematical studies, and ended by putting aside art "to occupy himself with a sort of transcendental engineering." "For some years before his death, almost the only designs he made were in connection with flying machines and aerial navigation generally." In politics, he was of the school of Mr. Fitzjames Stephen. You could judge of the men, he said, by the mere phraseology of their political cries. What, for instance, was the meaning of "*Droit au travail*" (what Judge Bradley in the New Orleans butchers' case calls the "sacred right to labor")? Would it, he said, be a particle more ridiculous to talk of the right to breed rabbits, which no one had ever contested? His personal sympathies were with the Orleans family. Gavarni's object in going to England was to make a number of drawings illustrative of English society and of English life. This work proving a failure, he returned, after a trip to Scotland, to London, where he took rooms, resolved to study the national character thoroughly. His life there seems to have been as original as from his sketches one would suppose everything about Gavarni to have been. It was his practice to sally out of his rooms in Salisbury Square, Fleet Street, in the evening, or, whenever he felt inclined to be idle, walk across the Square in dressing-gown and slippers, enter a tavern called the Barley Mow, and sit there smoking cigarettes, drinking bottled ales, "*coupé avec de l'eau*"—in other words, diluted with water—ruminating or conversing, as the case might be. "British bottled ale was at that time almost as strange to Frenchmen as cigarettes were to Englishmen, Gavarni entertained a high opinion of it, especially of the Scotch variety; and, perhaps from having met with it in Paris only at such places as Tortoni's and the Café Anglais, fancied that it was a particularly fashionable beverage."

—He grew so fond of bottled ale that an idea occurred to him, which the writer of the notice cites as an illustration of the difficulties in the way of his getting completely to the bottom of England and Englishmen. It was that of producing a work illustrative of English life in every class, and in every place, town as well as country, to be called '*A Pot of Beer*.' Hop-picking, the interior of a large brewery, a village public-house, with laborers and artisans drinking porter, and finally a banquet, with gentlemen and ladies drinking ale, were among the scenes he proposed to represent. It was pointed out to him that ale was not the characteristic drink of people of fashion, nor porter the drink of our working-classes alone; and, moreover, that the title '*A Pot of Beer*' would be thought vulgar. On this he abandoned his hastily considered project. One curious thing is mentioned about Balzac, which we have never seen noticed before. Gavarni had a great admiration for Balzac, but he declared that in private conversation he was "stupid," repeating, in answer to a request for an explanation of so surprising a statement, that he was "*simplement bête*." He added that Balzac found it very difficult to set to work, and that he would cover his paper with numbers of little words and phrases, which he scribbled in all sorts of ways, before he began; though, once having got his faculties into play, it is known that he would continue writing for prodigious and almost alarming periods.

—The slighting French phrase, "he didn't invent gunpowder," must, it seems, be applied to the Chinese, who have so long been credited with this as with other discoveries which they never learned to put to their highest use. In Trübner's *Literary Record* for August, we find an abstract of a paper on this subject which appeared last year in the *Journal* of the Royal Asiatic Society. The author is Mr. Wm. Frederick Meyers, Chinese Secretary of the British Legation at Peking. He asserts that the Chinese invented gunpowder only in the encyclopedias, and that every native writer who treats seriously of the subject disclaims the honor. "Probably the first disquisition relating to gunpowder that exists in Chinese literature is that which occurs in the work entitled '*Wuh-li-siao-she*,' by Fang I-che, who flourished during the last reign of the Ming dynasty, or, therefore, between 1600-1644 A.D." This esteemed author says expressly that "gunpowder (*huo-yao*) came from the outer barbarians," and places the first instance of its use in China in the second year of K'ai Pao of the Sung dynasty (969 A.D.) Chao Yi, a modern writer, also of high repute for learning and research, admits that ancient Chinese literature (or that preceding the T'ang dynasty, seventh to tenth century A.D.) contains not a syllable in reference to gunpowder or any analogous compound. He says that "Chinese antiquarians are agreed that the fire-crackers of the present day merely imitate the crepitating sound of bamboos, which were formerly burnt as a charm for exorcising evil spirits,"

a practice first recorded in two famous works assigned to the middle of the sixth century; and gunpowder was first employed in manufacturing the fire-cracker (called to this day *p'ao-chu*, or "crackling bamboo"). Mr. Meyers seeks to prove that gunpowder was known for centuries in India before it came to be employed in China, where it was probably introduced about the fifth or sixth century from India or Central Asia, in connection with the manufacture of fireworks for purposes of diversion. His competency to discuss Chinese antiquities may be judged from the announcement, in the same number of the *Record*, that he has been engaged for some time on a 'Biographical, Historical, and Mythological Dictionary of Chinese Literature,' similar to Dr. Smith's well-known classical series.

—Doubtless we shall soon get track of the original inventor of what we may call the feudal *right of entrail*, alluded to in our last issue. The August number of the *Polybiblion* has two responses to its previous enquiry. M. Louis Veuillot, in his '*Droit du Seigneur au moyen âge*,' remarking on the falsifications of history with respect to feudal institutions, cites a case of "imbecile credulity" from an '*Encyclopédie des jeunes étudiants et des gens du monde, par une société de gens de lettres et de savants*' (Paris: Hachette, 1833). It is under the rubric '*Droits Seigneuriaux*' that, as he says, after the usual defamation of seigneurs, bishops, and monks, one is treated to what the cyclopælist calls the abominable right which the seigneurs of Montjoie arrogated to themselves: "When in winter the counts of Montjoie and of Mèches went hunting, they had the right to disembowel *two* of their serfs for the sake of warming their feet in their smoking entrails." The *Polybiblion's* correspondent who sends this information obtained from M. Veuillot, adds that he has somewhere read that this pretended right was first heard of in the tribune of the Constituent Assembly, and intimates that it was taken up and repeated by the historian Dulaure and others of his kidney. Still another correspondent would fasten the honor of the invention on M. Duvernoy, inasmuch as in this author's '*Ephémérides du Comte de Montbéliard*' (1832) occurs the following passage:

"The inhabitants who groaned under the weight of feudal burdens, feared to find in the Baron of Montjoie a suzerain more jealous of his rights than the Prince of Montbéliard. Among these rights was one calculated to excite horror in the highest degree. When in winter the counts of Roche and the lords of Maiche went hunting, they could cause to be disembowelled two of their serfs for the sake of warming their feet in their smoking entrails."

This version is identical with that copied from the Encyclopædia, as our translation shows, with the single difference in the proper names and in the alternative construction: *pour réchauffer leurs pieds, pour se réchauffer les pieds*. M. Duvernoy assigns as late a date as 1704 to the exercise of the right in question. The correspondent points out the similarity of *servus* and *cervus* as perhaps having given rise, through a clerical or printer's error, to the misconception. Apparently the only part of the transaction for which our Communist author Tridon was responsible, was the introduction of the barbarous custom into Brittany from the South of France.

—At one of the ordinary general meetings of the Royal Institute of British Architects, in London, during the last spring session, a paper on the "Art of Sgraffito Decoration" was read by Mr. Alan S. Cole, son of Mr. Henry Cole, the late Superintendent and Director of South Kensington Museum. Of the young gentleman himself, it is enough to say that he seems to be worthily treading in the steps of his father, who, as Mr. C. Barry remarked at the meeting, has rendered himself conspicuous for many years, among the art-teachers of Europe, in making experiments and failures which he has not been afraid of, because they teach more than anything else. The method of employing *sgraffito*, which has been experimented upon by Mr. Moody and certain students at South Kensington, for some ten years, was narrated at some length by Mr. Alan Cole, and led to a very interesting discussion by some of the leading architects of the English metropolis, who were present to welcome the début of the young lecturer. *Sgraffito* is the scratching of an ornament upon an *intonaco* layer, or upper layer, applied to a black (or colored) ground, leaving the white of the *intonaco* to represent the white forms and the black to represent the black. To fix this preparation of plasters to a wall it is necessary that the wall should be well wetted; in fact, as Ceninni has said, "you cannot wet the wall too much." An ordinary "floating" coat of plaster three-quarters of an inch thick is first laid; when this is sufficiently dry—say in three or four days—a layer of black plaster not more than a quarter of an inch thick is then applied; when this layer has settled and is still damp, the finishing coat of light-colored plaster one-eighth of an inch, or less, is then laid, according to the delicacy of the work, or the distance at which the *sgraffito* may be ultimately placed from the eye. When the surface is prepared for being worked upon, and before the plaster hardens, the *sgraffito* or hatching should be executed. In this respect, it will be observed that this method



resembles fresco painting, since no more of the surface should be prepared than the artist is able to finish in one day. Mr. Moody's own report of his experience as to the transfer of a design, and its subsequent execution on the plaster, gives very interesting details:

"Having made a full-sized drawing of the proposed ornament, it can be transferred to the wall by tracing the lines through the paper on to the wet and yielding plaster, or if the drawing is executed in charcoal, it may be printed on the wall by turning its face toward the plaster and rubbing it firmly at the back; then, with an ordinary desk penknife, which was found to be the best tool, the artist firmly incises the outline, cutting through the upper layer into but not through the black layer below; he then scrapes away the upper layer and exposes the black wherever black is wanted, leaving the upper layer wherever white is wanted, and in this way any design in two tints can be executed with rapidity and effect. Where large spaces of black occur, it is as well to use a broad tool with a square end, which not only removes the upper layer easily and quickly, but gives a tolerably even surface to the layer below. Although designs are very generally executed in black and white, any colors which are permanent, when mixed with plaster, can of course be used."

For the experiments at South Kensington there were, of course, the precedents which exist for the various uses of stucco supplied by Italian artists of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and by the Tuscan architects and decorators especially. Yet a successful modification of *sgraffito* which was tried certainly deserves remark. It is Mr. Moody who is recording his essay:

"Having prepared a maroon ground instead of a finishing coat, scarcely more than one-sixteenth of an inch thick, a layer was laid of light cement one-half of an inch thick, and having traced the drawing upon it, the outline of the figure was cut straight down to the ground; after clearing away the waste, a projecting slab of the exact figure wished for remained. The face was then carved after the manner of cameo-cutting; and in this way a relief was obtained, in some respects better, perhaps, than if it had been modelled; for the degree of relief in this experiment is more uniform and sculptural, while the figures come more satisfactorily off the ground than they would if they were painted upon it."

—Mr. Alan Cole hesitates to speak with any exactness of the origin of *sgraffito*. The Italian artists employed stucco considerably in the decoration of the Vatican, both for modelling and painting upon. Hence, from this latter use of plaster were revived the various methods, more or less similar, which went by the names of "painting in fresco," "intonaco," "terrata," etc., which, as the earliest examples of wall decoration indicate—the wall-paintings of Pompeii, for instance—were known to artists practising thousands of years ago. It is not unlikely that *sgraffito* is an offspring of cameo-cutting. They both are arts having limits analogous one to the other. The artist who designed and executed a cameo limited himself in materials and colors. He depended solely upon the variations of layer which a stone possessed. In the same way the *sgraffito* worker, relieved certainly of the trouble of finding a suitable combination of layers, since each combination is under his control, limits himself to the variations he can obtain from the two layers of oppositely colored plasters. In the subsequent portions of his communication, altogether a graceful performance, Mr. Cole gave other interesting details as to the practice of the art, enumerating some of the principal Italian artists who employed it since the XVth century. The ensuing discussion called up Mr. F. P. Cockerell, Mr. Gambier Patten, Professor Kerr, Mr. C. Barry, and Sir Digby Wyatt as the principal professional speakers; and the architects of New York, with their unrivalled opportunities of a rising and growing metropolis, an area practically inexhaustible, a wealthy and liberal clientèle, and the brightest and cleanest climate possessed by any modern capital, would do well to study the report of it.

—Karl Blind has an interesting article in *Die Gegenwart* on a recent incident in the Belgian Chamber, when for the first time, on taking a vote, a German *ja* was heard instead of the usual French *oui* of assent. It was a very appropriate response under the circumstances. The bill before the House proposed to authorize the use of the Low German (*niederdeutsch*) language in judicial proceedings. That this should be necessary when Low German is the native tongue of a large majority of the Belgian people, is a paradox which gives Herr Blind an opportunity of narrating the history of the imposition of the French language against the wishes of the Flemish population, but with the countenance and aid of the Walloon (Celtic-roman) minority inhabiting the southeastern territory. The fact that French is the official language and the language of cultivated society, and has been so for more than half a century, does not prevent Low German from still being the common speech, not only in the rural districts but also among the lower classes in the cities, and even in the familiar domestic intercourse of the upper classes. Charles V. was the first ruler of the Netherlands to favor the substitution of French, and under him it came to be used in the dealings between the Flemish States and the Government, in spite of the resistance

of Flanders, and especially of Brabant, next neighbor to the Walloon influence. But during the XVth, XVIIth, and XVIIIth centuries, it was pretty strictly confined to this use, and even then the publication of laws and other ordinances was, for the Low-German-speaking communities, made in their language. By-and-by, under Maria Theresa especially, this practice gave way to publication in both languages, with the French for the original, and the nobility yielded a ready support to the innovation. The expulsion of the Austrians only confirmed the French yoke; French was everywhere officially installed, and Flemish driven even from the schools. Bonaparte's censorship scarcely permitted a Flemish book to see the light, and Flemish newspapers were at last forbidden to be published, unless accompanied with a French translation. Twenty years of this rule proved too much for the suppressed language even when the new United Netherlands seemed to promise for it a glorious resurrection. Religious and party differences came in to separate the two countries, and the revolution of September, 1830, left the Low-German majority in a worse plight (linguistically) than ever before. They first made themselves heard by petitions in 1840, but their prayers were neglected or only nominally granted. In 1858, a Society for the Elevation of the Flemish People came to their rescue, and has ever since been striving not for the supremacy but the equality of the Flemish tongue. Their efforts have been crowned with very partial success, but it can hardly be doubted that the victory at Sedan was an assurance of their final triumph.

#### WHIG THEOLOGY.\*

LORD RUSSELL writes of Dr. Samuel Clarke that "his Christian faith is the doctrine of an enlightened man well read in the Holy Scriptures." The terms of this eulogy sound odd and old-fashioned to modern ears. They are not the words in which any one would naturally describe a religious divine or statesman of the nineteenth century. No one would describe, for example, Dr. Liddon as a person well read in the Holy Scriptures, or talk of Mr. Gladstone's religion as the "doctrine of an enlightened man." Yet the phrase runs naturally from Earl Russell's pen. It is the language of all the men among whom he moved in his youth. Neither Sydney Smith nor Jeffrey nor Sir Walter Scott would have seen anything to wonder at in expressions which sound strange to the present generation. They would have felt that Lord Russell was conferring the highest praise on a revered teacher, and was describing a man who, while (to use the language of that day) he avoided the follies of enthusiasm, was pre-eminently distinguished by rational piety. The sentence, in short, which we have quoted, and many others which might be collected from the 'Essays on the Christian Religion,' reminds us that Lord Russell has clung no less in his theology than in his politics to the traditions of his youth. We do not, however, bring any charge of narrow-mindedness against him. No one can read his references either to Matthew Arnold, whose view of St. Paul is "far more in accordance with the real doctrine of St. Paul than that which persons who have failed to comprehend his real intentions have attributed to him," or to Dr. Newman, whose "latest work requires to be deeply studied," without perceiving how candidly he has studied the latest writers, and how little either for good or bad he has imbibed their spirit. We dwell on the tenacity with which he has clung to former modes of thought, because it makes him a representative of men whose theological views and assumptions deserve, even as a mere matter of history, careful consideration, and because it gives his work its only valid claim to interest.

Looked at as a compendium of ecclesiastical history, the book is as poor a manual as any man of ability ever published. If we were bound to criticize it simply with regard to its literary merits, the respect which every friend of free government must feel for Lord Russell would make us refuse to play the part of critics. Happily, the essays, though valueless as a contribution to ecclesiastical history, have a worth of their own, from the light which they indirectly throw on the theological doctrines derived by Lord Russell from the statesmen and teachers by whom he was trained, and by the party of which he was long the leader, and is now nearly the last survivor. The religious views of these men certainly deserve consideration. The Whigs, whatever their defects, have been as patriotic and as successful a body of politicians as has ever existed. If we take down the early numbers of the *Edinburgh Review*, or read Sydney Smith's remarks, we shall see what were the objects which the Whig writers desired to obtain as the result of their political efforts. Then, if we reflect upon the history of England during the last fifty years, we shall be compelled to admit that the Whigs carried out nearly every reform which they intended to achieve, and, further, that in substance the course of English politics has until recently run very much in the line marked out for it by the Whig statesmen. The Whigs may have been right, or may have been mistaken in their views, but these views they

\* 'Essays on the History of the Christian Religion. By John, Earl Russell. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1873.

have most successfully impressed upon the English nation, and the history of the last forty years is essentially the history—in politics, at any rate—of the triumph of Whig ideas. There is another side to the picture; but still, if we look at the matter in a broad point of view, we must admit that Lord Russell has a right, on looking back over a long and well-spent life, to feel that he and his associates have struggled both manfully and successfully for what he terms "the cause of civil and religious liberty."

In no field have the Whig ideas achieved in some respects a more complete triumph than in the province of religious politics. They never aimed at establishing religious equality, as that expression is understood by modern Nonconformists, and the time is still probably distant when religious equality will be established in England. Their aim was to establish complete toleration and unlimited religious liberty, and their end has been completely attained. There exists hardly an office in England from which any man can be excluded on account of his creed. We have seen a Roman Catholic Chancellor of Ireland, and within a few weeks a Jew made Master of the Rolls in England. Social sentiment may still put some limits (though what the limits are is hard to say) on the expression of opinion. But as far as law goes, there is at this moment more unlimited freedom of discussion in England than there has ever existed in any country in the world, except our own. When Lord Russell exclaims, "Let Mr. Darwin and Professor Huxley explain their opinions as freely as the Archbishop of Canterbury or Mr. Spurgeon," he expresses a wish which the fates have long ago granted, for we cannot believe that these eminent men can be hindered from expressing any doctrine which they wish to make public. It is, therefore, as a mere matter of political history, well worth examining what have been the religious views of the Whigs and the effect of these views on their policy. Lord Russell's book, while it inevitably suggests these enquiries, to a great extent supplies the answers to them. His views are, no doubt, like those of every thoughtful and religious man, his own individual opinions, and probably would not represent precisely the religious doctrines of any one of his friends or teachers. But he has unconsciously, if not in his specific opinions, yet in his general treatment of religious questions, clung so closely to the traditions of his party, that we shall scarcely do his friends an essential injustice if we take Lord Russell as the exponent of their creed.

The first point to be noted is, that Lord Russell occupies a distinctly Christian position. No doubt, some of the Whig writers had a tendency to scepticism, and Sydney Smith in his letters expresses considerable alarm at the free tone of the earlier reviews. But to consider the Whigs as a body of infidels or sceptics is entirely to misunderstand their position. Any one who reads, for example, Sydney Smith's life will, if he reads it with any candor, see that the Canon of St. Paul's was, according to his own ideas, an orthodox clergyman of the Church of England. Nature certainly did not mean him for a priest, but nature certainly made him an honest man, and one cannot trace throughout the whole of his letters or conversation the least suspicion that he could not fairly and honestly hold the situation and perform the duties of an English parson. Take, again, Lord Russell himself. He was never under any temptation to avow any religious feeling he did not entertain. He has certainly now nothing to gain by affecting an unreal piety. Yet every page of his last work is written in the tone of serious, if not fervent, religious belief. Modern critics of the Whigs are constantly misled by confounding a want of religious sentiment with want of religious belief, and by the idea that men necessarily disbelieve dogmas to which as a matter of fact they attached but little importance. Another point which Lord Russell's work brings into marked prominence is the extent to which he, in common with all the orthodox persons of his generation, grounded his religious views directly upon the Bible. He places as a motto to his essays the following sentence from Dr. Jortin: "The Scriptures, say the Protestants, are the only rule of faith in matters pertaining to revealed religion, and they say well. There is no other Christianity than this, no other centre of union than this. Whatsoever is not clearly delivered there may be true, but cannot be important." He takes care to insist upon the error of believing in verbal inspiration; nevertheless, practically, if not in theory, he regards the Bible, not as a collection of many books written by many authors, at different times and under different circumstances, but as one consecutive work, containing a complete scheme of religion, which can be discovered from the book itself, and neither derives nor needs any additional support from church authority.

The religion to be derived from the Bible he thus sums up in a creed, which is at any rate clear and succinct: "The religion of Christ has three main foundations. 1. God is a spirit, the maker of heaven and earth. 2. Christ was sent from God, and revealed to men the message of God. 3. Christ died for mankind. The miracles of Christ were performed by him and ended with his life. The gift of miracles was continued to his apostles, as we are informed in the Acts of the Apostles." These are the essentials of

Christianity. The subsequent history of the Church is the record of the mode in which these essential truths were overlaid and corrupted by the growth of dogma. The Council of Nice left "the beaten roads of the early Christians to wander through the pathless forests of controversy and ascend the heights of a new heaven." In the struggle between Athanasius and his opponents, "the spirit of Christianity was lost, and man was taught to hate his neighbor and to exalt himself." In perfect consistency with his general view of religion, Lord Russell, while sympathizing with the Reformation, denounces with the utmost vehemence the "rancor, the treachery, and the persecuting spirit of Calvin." "It appears to me," he writes of Calvinistic theology, "that, like the adherents of the so-called Athanasian Creed, the followers of Calvin, in their attempts to magnify the glory of Christ, neglect to extend their researches into the entire history of the life, the teaching, the declarations, the promises, the character of their divine Master." Now, to the expressions in which Lord Russell clothes his belief, few Christians of whatever school could, as far as the mere words go, take exception. But every intelligent reader can see at once that the creed in which Lord Russell was educated does not exactly correspond with any of the prevailing forms of belief or of unbelief. His position and that of the party to which he belonged may pretty fairly be thus summed up:

Christianity is a divinely-revealed system of morals to be found in the pages of the Bible. It is a system revealed from heaven, and proved to be true, both by its intrinsic character and by the miracles of its founder. It is further a system perfectly in harmony with natural good sense. The dogmas which have grown up around this system are, comparatively speaking, of minor importance. Those of them which can be proved from the Bible, or, in other words, which are admitted by orthodox Protestant bodies, are true. Those doctrines which cannot be proved from the Bible, or, in other words, which are not admitted by orthodox Protestant sects, are untrue, and may be treated as superstition. In any case, metaphysical dogmas, true or untrue, are matters of slight moment, equally foreign to the instincts of sound piety and of plain common sense. The perverted ingenuity of logicians, the rash enthusiasm of the multitude, have constantly tended to give an undue prominence to speculative theology. Men of enlightenment and education, to whatever communion they nominally belong, are gradually learning to neglect rather than reject the study of dogmas, and to confine their attention to the practical side of religion.

We do not think that any one who studies Lord Russell's book will hold that this is an unfair summary of his religious views, and few persons at all versed in the literature of the last century will dispute that it represents roughly the tone of thought prevalent among educated persons, whether Whigs or Tories, at the time when Lord Russell imbibed the ideas which have influenced his whole political career. The theology of that period could not, in England at least, be called sceptical. It might be fairly described as the Christianity of common sense.

It is easy enough to see the weak points of this common-sense creed. Like most of the speculations of the last century, it is marred by erroneous views of history. No modern thinker, of whatever school, would admit that the dogmatic and the practical teaching of Christianity could be severed in that easy, off-hand manner which Lord Russell's favorite theologians naturally enough adopted. Another point on which this creed would indubitably be assailed by most English Churchmen, is that it involves the assumption that the whole history of the church is the history of a long deviation from the path of truth, to which, under the guidance of rational piety, we are at last returning. No Calvinist, again, would for a moment admit that Lord Russell gave anything like an adequate account of Calvinism, and Anglicans would maintain that he struggled in vain to make the theology of the Church of England square with Whig latitudinarianism. The main objection, however, to this view of religion is one which at once strikes any modern critic, whatever may happen to be his individual convictions. It makes the assumption that the influence both of theological dogmas and of religious enthusiasm is yielding to the progress of general enlightenment. This assumption was almost universally made by the politicians of the last and preceding generation. We find it in the works of Burke, in the speeches of Erskine, in the writings of the Edinburgh Reviewers, and in the books of a man so little given to scepticism as Sir Walter Scott. The present generation know from experience that this assumption was to a great extent unsound. At this moment, religious differences are convulsing the continent of Europe, and underlie half, at least, of the most important questions which agitate English politics. It would be a less arduous undertaking to change the English monarchy into a republic than seriously to modify the creed of the Church of England. Theological dogmas may be untrue, but no practical politician can treat them as unimportant.

The defects of Whig theology are easy enough to perceive. It is of more importance to appreciate its real merits. The predominant characteristics of Lord Russell's own religious speculations and of the religious views of his party are common sense, honesty, and fearlessness. It may be quite true that he and they underrated the influence of theology; but he and they after all



placed themselves on very firm ground when they asserted the importance of religious morality, and boldly denied that you can divorce religion from sound sense. It is this conviction, that true religion is conformable to reason, which gives Lord Russell's theology at once its honesty and its fearlessness. It is refreshing, at a time when a religious politician like Mr. Gladstone finds it impossible to answer straight off the very simple question, Are you a Roman Catholic? and when a host of Protestant writers are occupied in showing up sympathetically the good side of Roman Catholic errors, to find a statesman who can roundly denounce Popery on the simple ground that its doctrines are untrue, and can feel that the claims of the Pope are disposed of by simply stating in their nakedness the propositions of the Syllabus. At a time, again, when we are told by all kinds of writers that no political economist can be a Christian, one feels a respect for the teacher who dwells on the obvious but apparently forgotten truth that it is absurd to presume that "a man who has learned political economy, and has adopted the policy of modern days, disregards or disbelieves the Christian religion," and that "it is not because a man is so far a free-trader as to admit that corn and cotton and wool and silk may pass freely from one country to another that he loses sight of religious obligations." When, again, one sees a prime minister showing at once his terror and his ignorance by feeble invectives against German free-thinkers, it is impossible not to sympathize with a writer who feels "sure the truth will ultimately be the gainer from freedom of discussion," and not to perceive that modern religion has still something to learn from the rational theology of the last century.

#### MASSON'S LIFE OF MILTON.—VOL. III.\*

THE faults of Mr. Masson's 'Life of Milton'—the elaborate and ungraceful efforts at ease of style, and the lack of due proportion between history and biography—are already so familiar to the reading public that it is necessary to say nothing more about them here than that the latter of them is far less apparent in this volume than in either of the two preceding. Whether from the nature of the facts, or from deference to criticism, it contains more of Milton than the others, in proportion to the entire bulk. Moreover, Milton's life and labors during the period here treated were far more interesting and valuable than during the previous one. He wrote little poetry, but several of his most famous prose works belong here—his Divorce tracts, the treatise on Education, and, above all, the 'Areopagitica.' Here also belongs the first collected edition of his works, as well prose as poetry. He still lived in comparative retirement, teaching for a livelihood, and preparing himself for that public career which will come within the scope of the next volume.

The history of the times, too, which after all occupies considerably more space than the biography proper, is on the whole more interesting than that of the previous volume; it covers in general the period from Marston Moor to the death of Charles. Military events are told rather cursorily, but the political history with great minuteness. These chapters embody the results of an immense amount of conscientious labor, and are marked by industry, sagacity, and impartiality. It is certain that Milton's literary career cannot be understood except in the light of these events; and if Mr. Masson has erred in an excess of fulness, better this than the opposite fault. He might very well have passed over the military history of the time with only an incidental mention, and we see no reason for a detailed account of the king's trial and execution; but the great battle between Presbyterianism and Independency, in Parliament, Westminster Assembly, army and literature, deserved all the study he has given to it and nearly all the space it occupies in the book. The history of Milton's own mind is, in truth, a type of that of the nation. We saw him in the last volume a Presbyterian, laboring in the establishment of the Presbyterian organization in England; here he appears as a radical Independent, and an efficient worker in the triumph of Independency. Most of his writings during these years have a more or less direct bearing upon this controversy.

The subject made most prominent in this volume is therefore the contest between two systems of church government, one of which was an organization, while the other embodied the extreme principle of individualism—a contest not inferior in significance to that between the Presbyterian organization and the hierarchical one which it had overthrown. And no less than in the painstaking analysis of the struggle in its successive phases, Mr. Masson deserves our thanks for bringing out the prominent share which the principle of toleration exercised in it. All the more so, as the public mind is beginning to be a little befogged as to the grounds on which this great principle rests. At a time when one writer clamors for "Catholicism in its strength"

—that is, the Spanish Inquisition—as a panacea for all social diseases; when a vigorous upholder of the Church of England declares that there is no difference, in point of principle, between the Spanish Inquisition and the assessment of a penny tax for the support of a national church—that is, that logically a religious organization demands absolute unanimity in matters of faith; and when it is beginning to be commonly assumed that any sincere and earnest religious faith, Catholic or Protestant, can have no choice but to persecute, it is time to go back to the foundation, and see whether it is true that toleration means indifference. Doubtless there have been men who persecuted out of pure mercy, and who lighted the fagots with a heart full of love; perhaps we ought in charity to believe that it is so as a rule. Our charity does not extend so far, however. It is hard to get at real motives, and motives are at any rate seldom unmixed; but we fully believe that for one who persecutes out of pure love for his victim, there are ten with whom the leading motive is intellectual pride or offended conceit, or some lower motive still. It is hatred, not love. After all, Mr. Mill hit the nail on the head when he declared that the spirit of persecution was, at bottom, nothing more nor less than a personal claim of infallibility. In these pages of Mr. Masson's relating to the early history of toleration, it is refreshing to find men who were heartily in earnest in their own convictions, and yet broadly tolerant of those of others; still more satisfactory to find in how large a degree the controversy was waged on this very issue of toleration. No doubt, as he says, it was in most cases the personal experience of intolerance that taught the beauty of tolerance; there are not many, on any subject, who have the capacity to arrive at just abstract principles, except from very concrete examples. "Every persecuted cause claimed at least a toleration for itself from the established power; and so, by a kind of accumulation, the cause that had been last persecuted had more of a tendency to toleration in it, and became practically more tolerant than the others" (p. 100). None the less credit to them for this, if the toleration was real; and the reader heartily accepts the writer's eulogy upon Roger Williams as the apostle in the seventeenth century, of this great principle, and as one of whom Americans may well be proud.

Nevertheless, true as it is that toleration is historically the child of persecution, it is none the less true that "the principle of religious liberty is almost logically [he might have omitted the 'almost'] bound up with the theory of the independency of particular churches." Protestantism is not in theory favorable to free thought; it pretends to be the authoritative substitution of a true system of dogmas for a false one. The Protestant organizations, therefore, did not differ in principle from the Catholic organization in respect to the right of controlling private thought; if they were more tolerant, it was simply because their circumstances required it, and especially because their very existence, whether they acknowledged it or not, was a recognition of the right of freedom of thought. But Independency necessarily implied withdrawal from all religious organizations; that is, its very essence was the voluntary grouping of individuals into loose organizations of a purely voluntary character, as opposed to the great, compact, coercive organizations of Episcopacy and Presbyterianism. This voluntary grouping was inconsistent with anything but complete freedom of thought. The character of the Independency which thus fought the battle of toleration in the seventeenth century is graphically described in one of Mr. Masson's best paragraphs. It is in relation to Cromwell's army:

"The common conception of an army of fanatics is that of an army mad for one set of tenets. Now the Parliamentary army was really, as the Presbyterians called it, an Army of Sectaries. It was a miscellany of all the forms of Puritan belief known in England, with forms of belief included that were not Puritan. The much largest proportion, after Presbyterians, of whom there were many, and ordinary Independents, of whom there were more, were Sectaries of the fervid and devout sort, such as Baptists, Old Brownists, and Antinomians, with mystical Millenarists and Seekers, all passionately Scriptural, saturated with the language and history of the Old Testament, and zealously Anti-Romanist and Anti-Prelate; and these, on the whole, were the men after Cromwell's heart. . . . But there were also in the army Sectaries of a cooler or easier order—Arminians, Anti-Sabbatarians, Anti-Scripturists, Familists, and Sceptics. Hardly a form of odd opinion mentioned in our conspectus of English Sects in a former chapter but had representatives in the army; nay, new speculative oddities had broken out in some regiments; and it may be doubted whether, even in the English mind of our own time, there is any form of speculation so peculiar as not to have had its prototype or lineal progenitor in that mass of steel-clad theorists contemporary with the Westminster Assembly. Nor did each man keep his theory to himself. There were constant prayer-meetings in companies and regiments, and meetings for theological debate; troopers or foot-soldiers off duty would expound or harangue to their fellows in camp, or even from the pulpits of parish churches when such were convenient; whenever the army halted, there was a hum of holding-forth. There were army chaplains, it is true, and some of them, such as Peters, Dell, and Saltmarsh, great favorites; but, on the whole, the regular cloth was in disrepute; those who belonged to it were spoken of as the *Levites*, or priests by profession. The need of such a profession was voted obsolete, and every man was held to be as good for the preaching office as any other, if he had the preaching gift."

\* The Life of John Milton: Narrated in Connection with the Political, Ecclesiastical, and Literary History of his Time. By David Masson, M.A., LL.D., Professor of Rhetoric and English Literature in the University of Edinburgh. Vol. III. 1643-1649. London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1873. 8vo, pp. 739.

... That extreme kind of Independency had become common which repudiated a National Church of any kind whatsoever, nay, denied that there was any church on earth at all, any system of spiritual ordinances visibly from God, anything but a great invisible brotherhood of saints walking in this life's darkness, passionately using meanwhile this symbol and that to feature forth the unimaginable, glad above all in the great glow of the present Bible, but expecting also each soul for itself rays and shafts from the Light beyond. . . . That absolute doctrine of toleration which Roger Williams had propounded, and which was logically inseparable in his mind from Independency at its purest, had found its largest discipleship in the Parliamentary army. Toleration to some extent was the universal army tenet; even the Presbyterians of the army, with some exceptions, had learnt to be Tolerationists in some degree. But a very full principle of toleration had possessed most, and the most absolute possible principle was avowed by many" (p. 522).

When this was the prevailing temper of the time, the leading principle of that body of men which conquered the kingdom for itself, it is easy to see how closely Milton's thoughts, during these years, followed with the community. His doctrine of divorce was the most daring of the heresies of the day; his 'Areopagitica' was the noblest expression of the theory of toleration in one of its chief aspects, and his plan of education was novel and radical. The few poems of this period, too, bore for the most part in the same direction.

This volume, like the earlier ones, has a feature of great value, in the sketches of literary men with whom Milton came in some way in contact—names of moment in their own day, but now almost forgotten. Even where these sketches exaggerate the general want of proportion by reason of their length and the slight direct bearing upon the life of the poet, we should be sorry to spare them. The long sketch of John Amos Comenius, for example, whom Milton does not seem even to have seen, is warranted by the fact that Milton's tract on Education appears to have been in part suggested by the speculations of Comenius on the same subject. Other interesting sketches are those of Samuel Hartlib, to whom this tract is dedicated, and of Humphrey Moseley the bookseller, who published the first collected edition of Milton's works; not to mention the abstract, p. 446, of literary publications between 1640 and 1646. The long delay in the publication of this volume, which was promised two years ago, is a proof of the careful labor of the author. No intimation is given when another instalment of the work may be expected.

*Columbus, Ohio: Its History, Resources, and Progress.* By Jacob H. Studer. (Cincinnati: Robert Clarke & Co. 1873.)—Columbus is only about sixty years old, having been founded in 1812, and at the time it was laid out its site was covered with a dense forest, so that for several years afterwards "its streets were so obstructed by stumps, brush, and logs that teams were obliged to move in zigzag directions in order to get around these obstacles." The history of such a town naturally consists of little else than an unexciting narrative of material progress and growth in population. The only antiquities of which Columbus can boast are the Indian mound which has given a name to one of its streets, and to which the chronicler alludes as "noted," without troubling himself to go into particulars. Another opportunity for an entertaining episode is equally neglected. The city was located on what were called the "refugee lands," from the fact that they had been "appropriated by Congress for the benefit of persons from Canada and Nova Scotia, who, in our Revolutionary War, espoused the cause of the revolted colonies"; and, more precisely, located, in part at least, on a certain half-section of which the title subsequently came into dispute, but which Congress had granted originally to "one Allen, a refugee from the British North American Provinces in the time of the Revolution." Very inadequate mention is here made of a remarkable character, Col. John Allan, who was a refugee only in the sense that he left Nova Scotia and repaired to Maine with a view either to conquer and annex the province (which then included New Brunswick) to the colonies, or, failing in that, to hold the extreme eastern boundary of the latter against British invasion. Many circumstances favored the bolder enterprise, and it was honestly attempted, but success was reserved for its alternative—no common undertaking either, nor without its risks and difficulties. Until the appearance of Kidder's 'Eastern Maine and Nova Scotia in the Revolution' (Albany, 1867), this brave frontier-work was scarcely known, much less appreciated. As the Ohio land was the nation's acknowledgment of its indebtedness to Col. Allan, the main facts in his career were worthy of a note in Mr. Studer's 'History,' more especially as this is the only historical name with which Columbus has anything more than an accidental association.

The laying-out of the State capital was a real-estate speculation which proved legitimately profitable to the four proprietors who united in it, but the fortunes acquired were soon lost in the case of all but one. A part

of their engagement was the construction of a State-house. Over the west door was inserted in the wall a stone slab bearing an inscription from Barlow, in which these two lines occur:

"Equality your first firm-grounded stand,  
Then free elections, then your federal band."

They had been already engraved when brought to the attention of Mr. Ludlow, the State superintendent in the construction of public buildings. "He was a staunch Democrat of the old school, with a rooted dislike to the use of the word 'federal,' except as the name of the opposing political party." "Federal band" of course could only refer to the Union, but Mr. Ludlow would leave nothing to interpretation. He had the word "federal" plastered over, and the word "union" cut in its place. Time, with a due regard to poetic justice, crumbled away the cement, and allowed Barlow's verse to shine out in all its integrity. Mr. Ludlow put his own ideas in the form of verse on another stone, placed over the east door. They will hardly be immortal as poetry, but as political doctrine they are better than anything the Democratic party has professed or practised since they were written:

"General good, the object of legislation,  
Perfected by a knowledge of man's wants  
And nature's abounding means applied,  
Establishing principles opposed to monopoly."

In the anti-slavery struggle there was an incident which will always reflect credit on Columbus and on the State. A colored man, Jerry Finney, long a resident of the city and known to everybody, was kidnapped in March, 1846, and carried back to his professed owner in Kentucky, on the peremptory order of a wretched justice of the peace in a neighboring town. Those engaged in the seizure were promptly indicted in the county court, and one of them was convicted; but he afterwards escaped, on account of an informality in the trial. The State Legislature, moreover, authorized an eminent lawyer to institute legal proceedings in Kentucky calculated to result in the liberation of Jerry. The result was what might have been anticipated, except that the Ohio advocate did not meet with the fate of Mr. Hoar in South Carolina. Finally, money was raised to ransom the victim, who died of consumption shortly after he was restored to his family.

Columbus owed its existence to the need of a central position for the capital, but it has long since ceased to depend for its importance on the fact of its being the seat of government. Already it asserts itself the third city in Ohio, outranking Toledo; and its proximity to the great mineral deposits of the State, the rapid development of its manufactures, and its multiplying railroad connections, all justify its expectations of a still more striking increase than in the past. Its population, which in 1815 was 700, and in 1860 18,554, had become in 1870 31,274. Though considered a healthy city and well policed, it has had several severe visitations of the cholera, one of them making frightful havoc with the inmates of the penitentiary. The public schools of Columbus appear to be handsomely maintained, but its public library is as yet feeble enough.

Mr. Studer's 'History' is composed with method and intelligence, and is accompanied by a good map; but it is much in need of an index, especially of names.

*Earnest Words on True Success in Life*, addressed to Young Men and Women. By Ray Palmer. (New York and Chicago: A. S. Barnes & Co. 1873.)—This small volume contains essays, or rather letters, for they were all first addressed to young men and women *viâ voce*, on such subjects as characteristics of youth, causes of failure in life, self-culture, false views of life, the law of habit, the danger of indulgence in little sins, the choice of a life-work, moral courage, true greatness according to Christ, and Christian character as an aid to success. While we do not entirely sympathize with Dr. Palmer in all his views on what may be called the discipline of life, we are glad to be able to say a good word for his book, as being free from the more offensive faults with which books of the morally suasive order are generally stuffed. We do not find, for instance, in looking through the pages, the dreadful warning addressed in one of Dr. Eddy's works to young men, in which they were informed, in the most startling kind of rhetoric, that the line which divided the once-tasted wine-cup from the gallows was a narrow hair's-breadth, almost invisible to the naked eye—a warning which would certainly have a tendency to incline the youth who had been so unfortunate as to have once tasted the cup to believe that it was in all probability up with him in any event, and that as he was already marked as prey for the common hangman, he might as well in the interval enjoy life in the most iniquitous manner he could. There is little or none of this exaggeration in Mr. Palmer's lectures; but we find on page 68 an instance of a minor fault almost as frequent, that of weak illustration. In speaking of the importance of prescribing for one's conduct fixed rules, he selects as a proof of it the supposed case of a person travelling abroad who finds himself on a



fine Sabbath morning in Paris—a bad city, as somebody once said, for deacons. A servant takes an early opportunity to inform him that there will be a full exhibition of the “splendid water-works at Versailles,” and, as they are exhibited on Sundays and the greater holidays only, he will have no other opportunity to see them. The servant adds, apparently with a deep malice, that “the Americans generally in the hotel are going.” Mr.

Palmer then asks triumphantly, whether if you have not fixed principles on the subject you will not probably go. Probably you will; and perhaps the most devout Sabbatarian would hardly think it worth while to have principles firmly established beforehand on the subject of going to see the Versailles water-works on such an occasion as this. If he does, we hardly know how he will be able to get through life at all, either in Paris or out of it.

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## THE WEEK IN TRADE AND FINANCE.

SEPTEMBER 1, 1873.

THE demand for money has been rather more active, and there is a noticeable hardening of rates. The demand has been supplied during the week at 4 and 5 per cent., with the bulk of business at the last-named figure. At times money loaned higher than at the rates above quoted—Tuesday, 7 per cent. gold being paid in some instances; but 5 per cent. was about the ruling rate on stock collaterals.

Foreign advices are favorable. The bank rate in London remains standing at 3 per cent. The Bank of England lost £100,000 in bullion last week, while the Bank of France gained 1,000,000 francs.

The bank statement for the week ending August 30 is again unfavorable, showing a considerable loss in the total reserve, made up of both specie and legal tenders. By the figures published below, it will be seen that the total reserve has fallen off \$2,352,100, and the total liabilities have decreased \$7,233,500. The surplus reserve now stands at \$5,905,450, against \$8,950,175 last week—a falling off of \$1,044,725. The following are the statements of the past two weeks:

|                    | August 23.    | August 30.    | Differences.     |
|--------------------|---------------|---------------|------------------|
| Loans.....         | \$289,931,800 | \$288,883,000 | Dec. \$1,048,800 |
| Specie.....        | 25,144,400    | 23,095,200    | Dec. 2,049,000   |
| Circulation.....   | 27,214,400    | 27,281,900    | Inc. 67,500      |
| Deposits.....      | 247,691,300   | 239,390,300   | Dec. 7,301,000   |
| Legal Tenders..... | 45,532,400    | 44,729,300    | Dec. 803,100     |

The following shows the relation between the total reserve and the total liabilities:

|                                | August 23.    | August 30.    | Differences.     |
|--------------------------------|---------------|---------------|------------------|
| Specie.....                    | \$25,144,400  | \$23,095,200  | Dec. \$2,049,000 |
| Legal tenders.....             | 45,532,400    | 44,729,300    | Dec. 803,100     |
| Total reserve.....             | \$70,676,800  | \$67,824,500  | Dec. \$2,852,100 |
| Circulation.....               | 27,214,400    | 27,281,900    | Inc. 67,500      |
| Deposits.....                  | 247,691,300   | 239,390,300   | Dec. 7,301,000   |
| Total liabilities.....         | \$254,905,700 | \$217,672,200 | Dec. \$7,233,500 |
| 25 per cent. reserve.....      | 63,726,425    | 61,918,050    |                  |
| Excess over legal reserve..... | 6,950,175     | 5,905,450     | Dec. 1,044,725   |

The following table separates the National from the State banks:

|   | National.      | State.         | Total.         |
|---|----------------|----------------|----------------|
| Loans.....                                      | \$248,667,300  | \$40,215,800   | \$288,883,000  |
| Specie.....                                     | 20,823,400     | 2,271,800      | 23,095,200     |
| Legal tenders.....                              | 39,988,000     | 4,741,300      | 44,729,300     |
| Deposits.....                                   | 190,467,500    | 29,922,800     | 220,390,300    |
| Circulation.....                                | 27,249,700     | 32,200         | 27,281,900     |
| Percentage of reserve to total liabilities..... | 31 15-100 p.c. | 23 41-100 p.c. | 27 38-100 p.c. |

The stock market at times showed considerable activity in a few speculative stocks, such as Western Union Telegraph and Pacific Mail, but beyond these, the sales for the week were light, and very little interest has been shown in the future course of prices outside of the few professional operators and speculative brokers who have remained in town. The Pacific Mail S. S. Co. have at last succeeded in borrowing some money, which will undoubtedly

be of great assistance to the Company. The amount borrowed was \$500,000, the lender being the Panama R. R. Co., which takes a bill of sale of six of the steamers, with the understanding that the Steamship Company has the right to take the steamers back upon payment of the loan, interest, and insurance.

Western Union Telegraph improved from the low quotations made during the early part of the week, and sold at 92½ on Friday. At the close on Saturday, it again fell off, as did the quotations of almost everything else on the list. The negotiation of the loan for the Pacific Mail did not seem to help the market for the stock at all, as the price declined to 43¾ on Saturday, after having been 45½ on Wednesday. The balance of the list has been very dull, and reference to the figures given in the following statement will show that no important changes have taken place.

The following shows the highest and lowest sales of the leading stocks at the Stock Exchange for the week ending August 30, 1873:

|                      | Monday.   | Tuesday.  | Wednesday. | Thursday. | Friday.   | Saturday. | Sales.  |
|----------------------|-----------|-----------|------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|---------|
| N. Y. C. & H. R..... | 104½ 104½ | 104½ 104½ | 104½ 104½  | 104½ 104½ | 104½ 104½ | 104½ 104½ | 15,800  |
| Lake Shore.....      | 92½ 93    | 92½ 93    | 92½ 93     | 92½ 93    | 92½ 93    | 92½ 93    | 37,100  |
| Erie.....            | 5½ 59½    | 5½ 59½    | 5½ 59½     | 5½ 59½    | 5½ 59½    | 5½ 59½    | 55,600  |
| Do. pld.....         | 53        | 53        | 53         | 53        | 53        | 53        |         |
| Union Pacific.....   | 25½ 27    | 25½ 26½   | 25½ 26½    | 25½ 26½   | 25½ 26½   | 25½ 26½   | 27,700  |
| Chl. & N. W.....     | 61½ 64½   | 61½ 64½   | 61½ 64½    | 61½ 64½   | 61½ 64½   | 61½ 64½   | 2,300   |
| Do. pld.....         | 81        | 81        | 81         | 81        | 81        | 81        |         |
| N. J. Central.....   | 104 102   | 104 103   | 104 103    | 104 103   | 104 103   | 104 103   |         |
| Rock Island.....     | 109½ 109  | 109½ 109  | 109½ 109   | 109½ 109  | 109½ 109  | 109½ 109  | 5,700   |
| Mil. & St. Pau.....  | 51 51½    | 50½ 50½   | 50½ 50½    | 50½ 51½   | 51½ 51½   | 50½ 51    | 3,500   |
| Do. pld.....         | 70½       | 70        | 70½        | 70        | 70½       | 70        | 700     |
| Wabash.....          | 69½ 69½   | 67½ 67½   | 67½ 67½    | 67½ 67½   | 67½ 67½   | 67½ 67½   | 16,900  |
| D. L. & Western..... | 100½ 100½ | 100½ 100½ | 100½ 100½  | 100½ 100½ | 100½ 100½ | 100½ 100½ | 2,100   |
| B. H. & Erie.....    | 2½ 2½     | 2½ 2½     | 2½ 2½      | 2½ 2½     | 2½ 2½     | 2½ 2½     | 700     |
| O. & M.....          | 39½ 39½   | 3½ 39½    | 39½ 39½    | 39½ 39½   | 39½ 39½   | 39 39½    | 19,600  |
| C. C. & I. C.....    | 30½ 31½   | 30½ 30½   | 30½ 30½    | 30½ 31    | 31 31     | 30½ 30½   | 9,000   |
| W. U. Tel.....       | 89½ 89½   | 89½ 89½   | 89½ 89½    | 89½ 89½   | 89½ 89½   | 89½ 89½   | 183,500 |
| Pacific Mail.....    | 43 44½    | 43½ 44½   | 44½ 44½    | 44½ 44½   | 44½ 44½   | 43½ 44½   | 147,700 |

Business at the exchange in State bonds has been limited, only a few sales of Virginias and Tennessees being recorded. Railroad bonds of the better class have remained firm and in good demand.

Government securities have fluctuated in sympathy with the change in the gold premium, but the general tone of the market has been firm. European orders to buy continue to flow in, but the same difficulty in executing them is experienced which we have had occasion to notice for a long time past.

The gold market has taken up the great part of the attention of the Street. The fight between the bulls and bears is very warm, and the former, so far as the quotations indicate, have got the worst of it—the price on Monday, 116½, not being maintained. The closing price on Saturday was 115¾; the lowest point reached was 115¼, Wednesday, and the highest 116½, Monday. Nearly \$9,000,000 gold was bid for at the Treasury sale Thursday, and the \$1,500,000 was awarded at 115.40 to one party. The Treasury programme for September includes a sale of \$6,000,000 gold; \$1,500,000 on each Thursday, and a purchase of \$500,000 bonds on Wednesday, 17th inst.

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